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IDENTIFICATION
AND ITS
FAMILIAL DETERMINANTS

An advanced study in sociology

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Identification and its familial determinants

Exposition of Theory and Results of Pilot Studies

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Contents

1.	<i>Introduction</i>	1
2.	<i>Some Earlier Theoretical Formulations</i>	4
	Freud	
	Sears (6)	
	Others	
3.	<i>Toward Clarification of the Concept</i>	12
	Identification as Product or Process	
	Types of Identification	
	Levels of Expression	
	Positional Identification and Personal Identification	
	Identification and Socialization (16, 17)	
	Identification and Six Other Somewhat Related Terms	
	Summary and Conclusions	
4.	<i>Structure and Function: Theorizing About the Independent Variables</i>	30
	Narrowing the Context to the Nuclear Family	
	Societal and Familial Structures	
	The Basic Societal Functions and Functional Analysis	
	Variation in the Structural Locus of the Basic Societal Functions	
	Roles as Consequences of Basic Societal Functions	
	Identification and Degree of Functionality in the Family	
	Qualifications on the Utility of Basic Societal Functions for the Study of Identification	

5.	<i>Intervening Variables: Nurturance and Control</i>	56
	Derived Functions of the Family	
	Parental Nurturance and Reciprocal (Anaclitic) Identification	
	Parental Control and Aggressive (Similar and Reciprocal) Identification	
	Joint Consequences of Nurturance and Control for Identification	
	Nurturance, Control, and Identification: Some Doubts and Questions	
	Summary	
6.	<i>Some Special Varieties of the Dependent Variable</i>	93
	Sex-role Identification (94)	
	Occupational-role Identification	
	Achievement Motivation	
	A Limiting Factor: the Constitution of the Child	
7.	<i>Some Pilot Studies Working Toward Measurement of Key Variables</i>	110
	A Pilot Study on the Measurement of Identification	
	Measuring Familial Structure	
	Attempt to Measure Degree of Familial Function (Functionality)	
	A Pilot Study to Identify Rewards and Models	
8.	<i>Some Relationships Among the Key Variables, Based on Data From the Pilot Studies</i>	133
	Familial Structure and Function	
	Familial Structure and Identification	
	Familial Functionality and Identification	
9.	<i>Summary and Concluding Observations</i>	146
	Identification as a Concept	
	Identification Stated as an Outcome of Structure and Function	
	Technical Outcomes of Pilot Studies	
	Substantive Outcomes of Pilot Studies	

Appendices

A.	Family Life Inventory	152
B.	Your Interests Survey	165
C.	Inventory of Associations I	169
D.	Inventory of Associations II	179
E.	Supplementary Tables	189

<i>References</i>	201
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<i>Index</i>	220
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List of Tables

1. Hill's cross-classification of modes of learning and kinds of reward	8
2. Summary and comparison of Winch's and Slater's views on positional and personal identification	23
3. Kinds of identification deduced as responses to levels of nurturance	83
4. Intercorrelations among types and subtypes of identification, by sex of offspring and of parent	115
5. Mean identification scores with respect to father and mother, by sex of subject and type of identification	116
6. Mean identification scores with respect to sex of subject, by sex of parent and type of identification	116
7. Mean number of interactions of subjects' nuclear families with extended kin, by major religious groups and direction of interaction	122
8. Categories of roles mentioned in response to "influence" and "done-things-for" questions	129
9. Mean levels of functionality for two-parent and one-parent families and significance of differences, by sex of offspring	136
10. Mean levels of functionality for subjects with and without older siblings of their own sex, by sex of subject	138

11. Mean levels of identification for offspring of two-parent and one-parent families: by sex of subject, sex of parent, and type of identification 139
12. Product-moment correlations between (X) degree of functionality of each parent and (Y) identification of offspring with each parent: by sex of offspring, sex of parent, and type of identification 141
13. Frequency distribution of subjects who do and do not register greater identification with the more functional parent, by sex of subject: similar identification 142
14. Frequent distribution of subjects who do and do not register greater identification with the more functional parent, by sex of subject: reciprocal-to-nurturance identification 143
15. Frequency distribution of subjects who do and do not register greater identification with the more functional parent, by sex of subject: reciprocal-to-control identification 144

Tables in appendix E

I. Means, standard deviations, and tests for significance of intersex differences on five measures of functionality	189
II. Categories of residence, by sex	190
III. Mean levels of functionality for rural-farm subjects and for all other subjects, by sex of subject	190
IV. Responses to "Your Interests Survey," by sex (items which at least one in every five respondents chose as among the five most important and unimportant in the survey)	191
V. Roles mentioned in response to "influence" and "done-things-for" questions, by form responded to and sex of subject	192
VI. A classification of responses to "influence" and "done-things-for" items in "Inventory of Associations I" and corresponding items in "Inventory of Associations II"	193
VII. Rank order of 35 "influence" items from Part B of "Inventory of Associations II," by sex of respondents	195
VIII. Percentage distribution of roles designated in response to "influence" questions, by categories of influence and sex of respondents	197
IX. Percentage distribution of roles designated in response to "influence" questions concerning social skills: by sex of subject and order of choice	200



Preface

A premise basic to this study is that the central problem of social psychology is the formulation of a set of propositions that can explain and predict the ways in which the behavior of an individual is influenced in a more or less lasting way by the behavior of other persons. When both the individual whose behavior is being influenced and those exerting the influence are viewed as members of social groups (or systems), continuities in the behavior of individuals comprise the dependent variable while the organization and operation of social groups and their members constitute the independent variables. The resources of the system and their control by occupants of the system's positions become intervening variables. In other words, this view conceives of social psychology as a strategy for explaining psychological phenomena by means of sociological variables.

On and off for a number of years, the writer has been reflecting on the more or less lasting influence of relationships in small social systems. The first formulation he published (Winch, 1950)¹ conceptualized the influence of parents on children as a function of the need-patterns of the parents. When, after some years of studying other phenomena, the writer returned to a consideration of influence in the familial setting, he was stimulated by some conversations with Professor W. J. Goode on a functional interpretation of society and the family. (His version appears in Goode, 1959; the writer's in Winch, in press, esp. Chap. 1.)

¹ All bibliographic references in this book are presented in this manner. The complete citations appear in the bibliographic index, pp. 201-19.

The theme that resources and their control affect behavior in some lasting ways has been appearing in the literature for some time. Among others, Homans (1958), Thibaut and Kelley (1959), Wolfe (1959), and Whiting (1960) have made effective use of this idea. The present formulation undertakes to extend such theorizing by examining conditions under which the group (the family in this case) possesses or lacks control over resources.

Both the lasting influence and the process by which it was acquired were conceived as aspects of identification, and the topic of identification was taken up in seminars given by Professor Donald T. Campbell and the writer in the winters of 1959 and 1961. For their stimulating suggestions the writer is much indebted to Professor Campbell and the students in those seminars, as well as to other colleagues at Northwestern University, especially Professors Harold Guetzkow, Winfred Hill, and Robert LeVine (now on the faculty of the University of Chicago).

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A special word of acknowledgment is owed to Mrs. Harriet Engel Gross, who has been with the project for several years, first as graduate

student and then as research associate. The writer is much indebted to her for unstinting help and total commitment. She has served many functions, including searcher of literature, gatherer of data, ambassador to the computing center, and critic of the writer's ideas. To her, many thanks.

R. F. WINCH

Evanston, Illinois

March 1962

1

Introduction

A fundamental article of faith among behavioral scientists is that the behavior of any given individual is influenced somehow by persons with whom that individual interacts. The formulation and testing of hypotheses concerning such relationships are the tasks of behavioral scientists. Identification is a concept which points directly and explicitly to a more or less lasting influence of one individual (who may be called *M*, the ego-model, or identificand) on another (whom we may call *I*, the identifier). Identification refers to a state of affairs wherein the overt or covert behavior of *M* is somehow reflected in the overt or covert behavior of *I*. This definition is an oversimplification in that it includes every form of influence that *M* may have on *I*. It is a preliminary view because one of the tasks of this book is to develop a definition of the term that offers the promise of being fruitful with respect to theory and research.

It is possible for an armed captor to have influence on the behavior of an unarmed captive. Such "external" influence is not the kind under consideration here. Rather, we have in mind the influence exerted by a person who is not present and who is unable to use direct means to constrain or induce the other to behave in certain ways. When *I*'s behavior is so modified that the change persists in the absence of *M*, we may speak of *I*'s having "internalized" the change. A relevant illustration of such internalized change is the familiar example of conscience:

the child who, though wanting a cookie, refrains from taking one even when his mother is out of the kitchen. Of course such interpersonal influence (flowing in this example from mother to child) may stimulate striving, as well as inhibiting, behaviors.

The approach of the present volume to what has been proposed as the central problem of social psychology is sociological rather than psychological, and behavioristic rather than psychodynamic. It is sociological in that it attempts to explain the identifier's behaviors as consequences of properties of social systems (e.g., the structure of the family) rather than of properties of the behaviors of significant others (e.g., the conditions of weaning or toilet training). It is behavioristic in that the behaviors of the identifier—overt and attitudinal—constitute the phenomena to be explained, and in that the identifier, for the purposes of the present analysis, is viewed as initially a more or less undifferentiated human organism responding to his situation rather than an individuated actor who initiates social interaction on the basis of his unique motivations.

Very generally speaking, the purpose of this book is to arrive at a sociological explanation of interpersonal influence. For reasons to be explained subsequently, we shall pursue this interest in the context of the family. Thus we shall be considering the ways in which a parent influences a child (see pp. 31-40). Which of these ways we shall subsume under "identification" is a tactical question to be answered by our analysis. We find the term "identification" in its various usages helpful as an organizing and sensitizing concept.

More specifically, the purposes of this book are (1) to undertake a sociological and psychological analysis of the concept of identification through a review of the literature and (2) to attempt to construct a theory of identification, drawing on data from some pilot studies.

Who Owns the Concept? It should be emphasized at the outset that identification is here conceived very broadly; it is not conceptualized exclusively from the Freudian or any other single point of view. From time to time one hears that without psychoanalytic training a person is incompetent not only to do research on identification but even to think about it. In view of the valuable contributions to the

literature on identification made by many writers outside the Freudian tradition, it seems clear that this position is not justified.

It is our view that the Freudian conception of how identifications are formed has a plausibility about equal to its testability. This is not to deny that psychoanalytic formulations on the topic have value; it will be evident that a good many of the ideas in this book have been inspired in one way or another by psychoanalytic propositions. As we shall point out in Chapter 3, however, we believe that the Freudian conception of identification, like many other conceptions of the term, contains ambiguities and inconsistencies.

Because of these ambiguities we use "identification" without qualifiers to designate nothing more than a broad area of study. If the reader happens to believe that there is only one correct definition of identification and if—as would seem likely in that case—his definition and ours do not coincide, we ask his forbearance and suggest that while perusing this volume he substitute for "identification" the phrase "the more or less lasting influence of one person on another."

2

Some earlier theoretical formulations

An exhaustive review of the voluminous literature on identification would be a monumental undertaking. In this chapter, we shall present several formulations which will enable us to get our analysis under way. Many other views will be considered or at least referred to in subsequent chapters.

FREUD

It seems indisputable that the first important theorist of identification was Freud. In his ultimate formulation, Freud came to see the development of the child's identification as a process involving three stages:

1. Primary identification in early childhood, a stage in which the infant is unable to distinguish between self and object (mother)
2. Anaclitic (or dependent) object choice
3. Loss—or fear of loss—of the object, and identification of the ego with the (consequently) abandoned object

The outcome of these three stages is that the child normally develops an identification with the parent of the same sex. This identification is

manifested in the child's simulation—and perhaps emulation—of that parent's behavior and attitudes. Since primary identification refers to the helpless neonate's relation to his mother, it is evident that for the most part the interactional behavior of the infant is reciprocal, rather than similar, to that of his mother—e.g., mother nurses and baby sucks.

According to Bronfenbrenner, Freud came to place increasing emphasis on the child's fear of a punitive, threatening father in the third and final stage of developing identification. Bronfenbrenner draws a very clear distinction between Freud's conceptions of identification in stages 2 and 3:

The first of these mechanisms involves identification as a function of loss of love; the second as a function of fear of the aggressor. We shall refer to the former as anaclitic identification and to the latter by Anna Freud's classic phrase, identification with the aggressor, or, more briefly, aggressive identification [Bronfenbrenner, 1960, p. 16].

The third stage came to involve negative affect associated with fear and frustration as well as positive affect; hence it was characterized by ambivalence. Freud saw this stage as a mechanism for resolving the Oedipus complex. Built into the theory was an explanation of the process by which the modal personalities of men became differentiated from those of women. The figure internalized by the little boy, said Freud, is a punitive, castrating (or, more precisely, castration-threatening) father. Freud theorized that as a result of his internalization of this paternal image the boy represses incestuous yearnings for his mother and also takes over aggressive attitudes from his father. He felt, however, that girls have less incentive than boys to give up the Oedipus complex. In girls what corresponds to the boys' internalization of the fearsome paternal imago is the fear of loss of love, which is "obviously a continuation of the fear of the infant at the breast when it misses its mother" (S. Freud, 1933, p. 121). Thus Freud thought that typically girls grow to adulthood with a greater component of stage 2 than boys have and a smaller component of stage 3, and that this accounts for their being more emotional and having less of a sense of justice than men (or, in Parsons' [1951, pp. 61-63] terminology, for their being

more "expressive" and "particularistic"). Because, he believed, boys have more of stage 3, Freud saw the typical male as developing a superego more inexorable, impersonal, and independent of its emotional origins (Parsons' "universalistic") than that of the typical female.¹

SEARS

In accordance with his long-range goal of making Freud's rich concepts more accessible to objective test, Sears has sought to bring the concept of identification into the framework of *S-R* psychology. Sears, Maccoby, and Levin (1957) speak of three kinds of learning with respect to complex social and emotional behavior: trial and error, direct tuition, and role practice. Moreover, they specify three conditions which are required for each of these kinds of learning: the child must be motivated, he must give a response, and the response must be reinforced. Identification, they say, is "whatever process occurs when the child adopts the method of role practice, i.e., acts as though he were occupying another person's role" (p. 370). Posing the question as to what motives lead the child to role-play, they surmise that one important motive is to reproduce pleasant experiences. Thus if the parent has been nurturant—i.e., disposed to feed, nourish, and give aid and encouragement—they would expect the child to enjoy playing the parental role in fantasy. Observing that the mother's responsibilities generally require her to withdraw her attention and thus to deprive the child to some extent, they hypothesize that a child is likely to play his parent's role extensively if the dependency motive is strong.

¹ Freud also believed that his theory of identification explained homosexuality, but careful reading reveals that he had two somewhat contradictory theories to account for it. Thus in "Contribution I" of *Three Contributions to the Theory of Sex* (S. Freud, 1938) he hypothesized that male inverts had identified with their mothers rather than with their fathers and that this maternal identification was not infrequently the result of the "disappearance of a strong father in childhood" (pp. 560-61). In "Contribution III" of the same book, however, he noted that the "bringing up of boys by male persons (slaves in the ancient times) seems to favor homosexuality" (p. 620).

In his attempt to describe the process of identification in the language of behavior theory, Sears (1957) posits four stages:

1. Infant's biological dependence on mother
2. Occasional absence of mother during times when he experiences need (or drive stimuli)
3. Attempts by infant during mother's absences to perform gratifying parts of the total sequence for which mother is normally responsible
4. Gratification of infant resulting from some of these attempts (which reinforces certain imitative responses)

Like Freud, Sears believes that the child is disposed to identify on a nearly total basis—i.e., to reproduce many and diverse behaviors of the parent.² Sears (1957) speaks of this disposition as a “secondary drive system of dependency-on-the-mother,” or what Allport (1937) might call a “functionally autonomous” identification. Thus it might be said that Sears's paradigm proposes a first phase of the process of identification wherein *I* is learning a set toward an *M* and then, after the set has been learned, a second phase wherein *I* is generally attentive to *M*. It would seem that only in the second phase would total identification become possible.

From these formulations Sears draws one conclusion and several hypotheses. Because identification comes to be a generalized disposition, he concludes that it “short-cuts the direct training process.” He hypothesizes that the identification of the child with the mother will be stronger (1) the greater the degree of affectionate nurture given by the mother, (2) the more the child is required to substitute for her, and (3) the more the mother uses the withdrawal of love as a disciplinary technique. The apparent paradox between (1) and (3) is reconciled by a hypothesized curvilinear relationship between the mother's nurturing behavior and the child's similar identification: if she is always

² From common observation, however, it appears that identification may also involve rather minute segments of *M*'s behavior—e.g., a small boy's wish to spit as far as the older *M* can. As we shall see in Chapter 3, Slater (1961) offers some theory to account for the proportion of *M*'s behavior which *I* undertakes to stimulate.

gratifying, there will be no opportunity for the child to shift from dependence to independence; if she is never gratifying, he will have no incentive to act like her (Sears, 1957).³

OTHERS

In a preliminary draft of a paper published in 1960, Hill proposed a ninefold table which cross-classified three modes of learning by three kinds of reward (and punishment). In Table 1, "vicarious" means that *I* learns which responses are rewarding to *M*, and "symbolic" means that *I* feels in a sense that *M* is present and gets secondary reinforcement by simulating *M*'s behavior. As we shall see in Chapter 3, the learning involved in identification seems usually to be that represented by cell 32 (observational learning and vicarious reward), whereas socialization is represented by cell 21 (tuitional learning and direct reward). If, however, we incorporate Sears's formulation that identification-as-process consists of role practice, we might say that there is a two-stage learning process: observation (cell 32) followed by guided trials (cell 11).

Table 1. Hill's Cross-Classification of Modes of Learning and Kinds of Reward

<i>Mode of Learning</i>	<i>Kind of Reward</i>		
	DIRECT	VICARIOUS	SYMBOLIC
Trial and Error	Cell 11	Cell 12	Cell 13
Tuition	Cell 21	Cell 22	Cell 23
Observation	Cell 31	Cell 32	Cell 33

Whiting and Child (1953) report that early training seems to be less important in establishing lifelong tendencies with respect to what

³ Reik has presented a similar formulation. He believes that for a child to become an adult capable of loving there must have been some uncertainty in the child's expectation of maternal love. In other words, the mother must provide some measure of gratification of the infant's and child's needs in order for him to experience love, but if she should gratify the child's needs completely, he would not experience a need which we should recognize as the desire for love (Reik, 1944, p. 174).

they call "positive fixation" (resulting from gratification) than "negative fixation" (resulting from "severe socialization"). This suggests the possibility that somewhat different laws of learning exist as a consequence of positive vs. negative reward. Perhaps, therefore, it would be feasible to add a dimension to Hill's table which would enable us to distinguish between rewarding and punishing experiences.

Kagan (1958a) distinguishes (1) imitation learning, of which O. H. Mowrer (1950) emphasizes the self-rewarding aspect whereas Miller and Dollard (1941) emphasize the direct reward from the social environment; (2) prohibition learning, motivated by anxiety over the loss of love (called "introjection" by Sanford [1955]); (3) identification with the aggressor (called "defensive identification" by Mowrer and "identification proper" by Sanford), motivated by anxiety over anticipated aggression or dominance by a threatening *M*; and (4) vicarious affective experience.

Bronfenbrenner (1960, p. 38) distinguishes among three classes of phenomenon to which the term "identification" is applied: (1) identification as behavior, with an emphasis on overt action; (2) identification as motive, with an emphasis on disposition to act like another; and (3) identification as process, with emphasis on the psychological mechanisms through which behavior and motives are learned. With respect to (3), he notes at least four such processes: (a) anaclitic identification, (b) aggressive identification, (c) conventional reward and punishment "without . . . reliance on frustrations implicit in either the anaclitic or aggressive mechanisms," and (d) perception of the parent as exercising mastery over the environment.

These writers have been concerned with differentiating (1) conditions necessary for learning to occur (e.g., motivation, response); (2) kinds of learning (e.g., trial and error, direct tuition); (3) kinds of reward and punishment (e.g., direct, vicarious); and (4) kinds of product (e.g., anaclitic identification, aggressive identification). Parsons and Bales (1955) relate elements of the family as a social structure to roles learned by the child. Although they see much of value in Freud's work, they assert that Freud "lacked . . . a systematic analysis of the structure of social relationships as systems in which the process

of socialization takes place" (p. 104). Seeking to rectify this lack, they offer their conception of identification:

. . . [I]dentification should designate the process of internalization of any common collective "we-categorization" and with it the common values of the requisite collectivity. In this meaning of the term, in the oedipal phase of development a child undergoes not one but *three* new identifications. Two of them are common to members of both sexes, namely, internalization of the familial we-category, and of the sibling category, namely, "we children." The third, by sex, differs for children of each sex, in this third sense the boy identifies with his father, the girl with her mother. It should also be noted that in none of these three senses does identification mean the internalization of a *concrete* role-type. . . . [A] child . . . can prospectively become *a* father, but only in another nuclear family; he cannot assume *his* father's role in *this* nuclear family [Parsons and Bales, 1955, pp. 93-94].

Stoke's view of the nature of identification is interesting, primarily because of the seemingly comprehensive list of determinants he offers:

Factors influencing identification are: (a) the biological fact of sex and its predisposition to some forms of behavior; (b) the social pressures upon children to identify with their own sex; (c) the degree of affection accorded to the child by the person with whom identification is attempted; (d) the extent to which the child's needs are gratified by the person with whom identification is attempted; (e) the degree of acquaintance which the identifier has with the identified person; (f) the clarity of the role of the person with whom identification is attempted; (g) the attitude of influential persons toward the person with whom identification is attempted; (h) the capacity of the child to be like the person with whom identification is attempted; (i) the temperament of the child in relation to the person with whom identification is attempted; (j) the existence of strong needs on the part of the child which conflict with or coincide with the requirements and pattern of the person with whom identification is attempted [Stoke, 1950, p. 166].

It will be noted that these "factors influencing identification" are not verified propositions but, rather, hypotheses.

The foregoing review of the literature has raised some questions which may be useful in guiding our further thinking about identification:

1. On what level of conceptualization is it most useful to consider the topic of identification? sociological? social-psychological? psychological? Or should a sound research strategy involve a simultaneous attack on two or more levels of conceptualization? There are some subsidiary questions:

a. What kind or size of unit or slice of behavior should we look for? For example, should we think of identification as including both mannerisms, such as a quizzically raised eyebrow, and the adoption of a philosophy of life or the entering into an occupation?

b. What kind of learning is involved in identification? Is learning conscious or unconscious? What kinds of reward are involved?

c. Cameron and Magaret (1951, p. 60) speak of "persons, groups, objects, and symbols" as being, in a sense, classes of *M*. In what circumstances does an individual select a person or a group or an object or a symbol?

2. Should hypothetical constructs and/or intervening variables be postulated? If so, how? Subsidiary questions are:

a. Should a need or drive-state pertaining to identification be postulated? Symonds (1946, p. 60) defines identification as "the modeling of oneself in thought, feeling, or action after another person." Or should the existence of a need for such a modeling be a question for empirical determination? If the need should be postulated, should it be conceptualized as a disposition to carry out certain more or less specific behaviors or generally to "be like" an *M*? The postulation or discovery of such a drive would presumably lead to a search for the conditions that generate it.

b. What about *I*'s attitude or feeling tone toward *M*? Can it be neutral or negative, or must it be positive?

3

Toward clarification of the concept

As it has been employed in the literature, the term "identification" suffers from having a host of meanings. It may denote the quality of the relationship between the behavior of the identifier (*I*) and that of the model (*M*) or the process by which that relationship developed. It may denote that the behavior of *I* is similar to that of *M*, or that it is reciprocal to that of *M*, or even that it is opposite from that of *M*. It may denote a relationship between *I* and *M* not on the behavioral but on the attitudinal level, or on a level of unconscious psychodynamics. It may denote that *I* is consciously striving to become in all respects like *M*, or that *I* is copying one specific behavior of *M*. Noting such ambiguities, some writers have concluded that the term should be abandoned. Before yielding to despair, let us examine these and other points of confusion.

IDENTIFICATION AS PRODUCT OR PROCESS

Identification, as we have noted, has been used to refer to (1) *product*—i.e., those facets of *I*'s behavior or disposition to behave which are related to *M*'s behavior—and (2) the *process* by which *I* learns to behave in some manner related to *M*'s behavior. For our purposes, the former, identification-as-product, is the dependent variable, the factor that is to be explained. To the extent that we are successful, we shall be building a theory which will set forth the latter, identification-as-process.

TYPES OF IDENTIFICATION

From its etymology, we expect identification to signify that *I*'s behavior is similar to *M*'s. No doubt one of the first images that the term brings to mind is that of a small boy assuming his father's stance or gait. As we have seen, however, the Freudian concept of "primary identification" suggests another and different meaning; it refers to the reciprocal interaction of the dependent infant and the nurturing mother.¹ It may well be that with respect to numerous behaviors *I* must enact the reciprocal role before he can learn the similar response. In any case, it is useful to note that the term "identification" has been used to refer to reciprocal as well as similar behavior on the part of *I*.

The concept of "negative identification" introduces another variation on the conception of identification as similarity-in-behavior. In this state of affairs *I* has negative feeling toward (i.e., dislikes, hates, loathes) *M* and adopts behaviors precisely opposite to those of *M*. A further complication is that an *I* who professes to dislike *M*—say, a parent—and who manifests overtly opposite behavior may, at a quite covert level, have positive feelings for *M* and some similarity in motivation. When *I*'s behavior (using the term broadly) appears to be op-

¹ Apparently Freud did not apply the term "identification" to what we are calling reciprocal identification once the individual passed beyond infancy—i.e., after the child became capable of making the self-other distinction. With respect to post-infantile behavior, Freud (1922, Chap. 7) used "identification" to denote what we are calling similar identification. (Cf. Fenichel, 1945, pp. 37-38; Healy, Bronner, and Bower, 1930, p. 240.)

posite to (including reaction-formative against) *M*'s behavior, we shall say that it indicates *opposite* identification.²

Now let us push the relationship between *M* and *I* a bit further. Let us imagine *M* and *I* in a dyadic situation, in which the behavior of each is patterned. To illustrate: one may be consistently giving or instructing, the other receiving or learning. Initially the responses of *I* are reciprocal to those of *M*, and *I*'s behavior is subsumable under reciprocal identification. To anticipate a distinction to be drawn presently, we shall speak of the behaviors that *I* is learning in this role relationship as positional, as contrasted with personal, identification. Soon the relationship may change, and *I* may come to give responses like those of *M*. To the extent that *I*'s responses are *M*-like, *I*'s behavior is subsumable under similar identification. But *I* may become frustrated and aggressive and act out his negative affect. To the extent that *I*'s behavior is contrary to that of *M*, he is manifesting opposite identification.³

² The question arises whether or not it is fruitful—indeed, possible—to distinguish between reciprocal and opposite identification. Let us assume that *M* is high on trait *A*. It is clear that similar identification calls for *I* also to be high on *A*. If *I* has identified oppositely, he should be low on *A*. At first glance, it would seem that reciprocal identification also implies a low *A*-score. If so, then how do we distinguish between the two forms of identification?

Perhaps we can see the problem more clearly if we consider it at a somewhat more global level. Let us hypothesize a mother who is warm, nurturant, giving, etc. If the child identifies oppositely with her, he is not warm but cold, not giving but withholding; he may therefore be described in terms which are the opposites of those used to describe the mother. But if the child is reciprocally identified, is he cold and withholding? We cannot answer this question, but we can say that he is receptive and dependent. Thus the concept of reciprocal identification does not lead to a necessary implication as to what *I*'s score must be on *A* given *M*'s score on *A*. Rather, it says that if *M* is high on *A*, *I* should be high on whatever variables are reciprocal to *A*. Thus the concept of reciprocity involves the immediate task of discovering a set of reciprocally related variables. If *M*'s behavior is high on trait *A* and the reciprocal behavior in *I* is specified as low on that trait, it will be impossible to distinguish between reciprocal and opposite identification. We shall therefore speak of reciprocal identification only when the trait shown in *I*'s behavior is not simply the negative aspect of the trait to which it is related in *M*'s behavior. In other words, both similar and opposite identification refer to a single variable and thus are unidimensional; reciprocal identification refers to different variables in the behavior of *M* and of *I* and thus is two-dimensional.

³ There are two patterns with respect to which *I*'s behavior could be opposite. If

LEVELS OF EXPRESSION

I's behavior may be related to *M*'s on a variety of levels. We may distinguish the following levels of expression: overt behavior, both motor and verbal; the content of consciousness, including attitudes and values, emotions, aspirations, and intellectual convictions; and unconscious "attitudes" and "wishes" knowable through the content of fantasy, free association, and dreams.⁴

POSITIONAL IDENTIFICATION AND PERSONAL IDENTIFICATION⁵

Should we think of identification-as-product as manifested in social position and role, or in personality? Very simply, positional performance refers to the behavior appropriate to some situation regardless of who the actor may be, and role performance refers to the behavior appropriate to any of the patterned relationships which the position

it is opposite to *M*'s, he is showing behavior subsumable under what we have called opposite identification. If it is opposite to *I*'s initial (i.e., reciprocal) behavior, it may be called opposite to the reciprocal. Perhaps it is premature to design research to study identification that is opposite-to-the-reciprocal. Where opposite identification is mentioned in this book, what is meant is opposite-to-the-similar. Let us bear in mind, however, the theoretical possibility of a second kind of opposite identification.

⁴ Operationally, it may be necessary to draw the distinctions a bit differently—e.g., (1) what a subject *does* in a given situation; (2) what he *says* he does or might do in that type of situation; and (3) what he *fantasies* he would do. The corresponding operations would be (1) an experimental situation, (2) a questionnaire, and (3) a projective test. Common to the last two categories is an aspired self, an ego ideal, a role enacted in fantasy. The boy who tries to develop the most minute mannerisms of his athletic hero and the girl who tries to cajole her mirror into reflecting the smile, coiffure, posture, and gait of her movie heroine are manifesting both the aspiration to become similar to *M* and the recognition that such similarity is still remote from achievement. Although there seems to be no specific *M* to provide the content, Walter Mitty's lively fantasies in the midst of his humdrum life testify to Thurber's insight that such unrealized aspirations are not confined to those below voting age.

⁵ This section was originally entitled "Role-Identification and Personality-Identification." Just before the final revision the writer obtained a version of Slater's subsequently published paper entitled "Toward a Dualistic Theory of Identification" (1961). Because of the great similarity between Slater's formulation and ours, it seemed desirable to follow his nomenclature. Key differences between Slater's formulation and the present one will be noted.

entails. Personality suggests the behavior characteristic of the actor more or less without regard to the situation in which he finds himself. Thus position and role are situation-centered concepts, whereas personality is an actor-centered concept. If we focus on positional identification, our dependent variable will be stated in terms of sex-roles, familial roles, occupational roles, etc. If we focus on personal identification, we may be concerned with such variables as introversion-extroversion, dimensions of the semantic differential (Osgood *et al.*, 1957), or even variation in values (Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, 1961).

Sociologists, psychologists, and those in the various categories of therapy have given much attention to the concept of personality. Gordon Allport (1937) has written a very substantial historical account of the concept. For our purposes it is not necessary to offer a definition of personality, but if the reader believes a definition to be desirable we can use Allport's.⁶ Because the literature on position and role is vastly less substantial, we shall consider these concepts before going on.

We shall define a *social position* as a normatively prescribed location in a social system and a *role* as "a part of a social position consisting of a more or less integrated or related sub-set of social norms which is distinguishable from other sets of norms forming the same position" (Bates, 1956, p. 314).⁷ A *sub-set of social norms* consists of

⁶ "Personality is the dynamic organization within the individual of those psychophysical systems that determine his unique adjustments to his environment" (Allport, 1937, p. 48). As Newcomb emphasizes (1950, pp. 344-45), personality refers to "the individual's organization of predispositions to behavior."

⁷ Oeser and Harary (n.d., pp. 3-5) lament the bewildering array of definitions of role. The term is used, they say, "as an analytic concept, as a unit of observation, as a concept of structure and of function, as a phenotypic descriptive unit, as a concept of personality theory and even of ego psychology . . . we find that roles are assumed, carried, executed, internalized, played." These diverse conceptions of role, they continue, may portray it as: (1) a part of some social structure; (2) a pattern of behavior, a functional unit of social action, or of culture; (3) relating people to each other by means of norms; (4) relating people to tasks; (5) a pattern of mutual behavioral expectations and attitudes; (6) personality attributes; or (7) the dynamic aspect of position or status. In this book only (6) is clearly excluded, on the ground that a (social) role is viewed as a part of a (social) position, and the latter term is conceived to be coordinate with, and distinct from, personality.

shared expectations which designate the associated *role prescription*; i.e., the expectations constitute an evaluative standard concerning the behavior appropriate to the role. For example, one social position in the familial system is that of husband-father. One of the roles which makes up this position is that of husband. This term denotes the expectations to which the man occupying the position is subjected with respect to behaviors which he directs toward his wife and which distinguish his relationship with her from his relationships with his children, with his parents, and with other persons to whom he may be related by blood or marriage as well as to non-kinsmen.

Role performance is that behavior of an individual which is performed in the fulfillment of a role and is in accordance with the norm. *Role behavior* is that behavior of an individual which is performed in the fulfillment of a role irrespective of the degree to which it conforms to the norm. The concept of role implies a *role relationship*, which is the normatively prescribed interaction between the incumbent of the role and the incumbent or incumbents of the one or more reciprocal roles. This concept also implies the existence of a group of individuals who share a set of expectations with respect to each role. Frequently it is the incumbents of the reciprocal roles who are among the most important and active definers of the role. We may think of both the interaction and its consequence (in terms of product or outcome) as *function*.

As we study behavior from the standpoint of the social system as a whole, position becomes an immediate and obvious unit of analysis. As we study behavior from the standpoint of the relationships which comprise the social system, role is the appropriate unit of analysis. It seems likely that the actor is generally more aware of his participation in the informal structure of a system through his roles than through his position in that system, and that he is more aware of his participation in the formal structure through his position than through his roles.

There are some quite obvious facts that should be recalled as we consider the concepts of position and role. Some positions and roles are ascribed and hence are acquired involuntarily; some involve choice; and others entail choice plus achievement. It may be useful to bear in

mind the method of acquiring the positions and roles under consideration.⁸ The age of attainment may be important.⁹ From these remarks it follows that each person is an incumbent of as many positions as there are social systems (family, company, etc.) in which he participates, and of course the number of his roles exceeds considerably the number of his positions.

Let us consider further the distinction between positional and personal identification. It will be recalled that we began with a very loose definition of identification as the more or less lasting influence of *M* on *I*. Now we shall attempt to arrive at more precise definitions of positional and personal identification by examining properties of the qualifiers. We begin by postulating that a positional identification can occur only when *M* and *I* occupy reciprocal roles of some sort—e.g., priest and parishioner.¹⁰

1. From the definitions of position and role it follows that the behaviors of *M* and *I* in positional identification will be reciprocal. Roles are characteristically reciprocal; e.g., a woman cannot enact the role of mother unless another human being is enacting the role of child. In personal identification it is not required that the behavior of *I* be reciprocal to those of *M*; they may be similar.

2. It is difficult to imagine any two persons frequently interacting with each other and still not being in some role relationship to each other. But if we apply the positional-personal distinction to dyadic interaction, we see that “positional” implies that their interaction is governed by, and patterned by, more or less clearly defined and pub-

⁸ Where positions and roles are ascribed, their incumbents, by definition, have no choice with respect to accepting or rejecting them. It is desirable, however, to modify the conception of the ascribed position or role or status by accepting the suggestion of Aaron Cicourel and John Kitsuse that a person may “achieve” his way out of an ascribed position, role, or status. When a male engages in homosexual behavior, for example, he may cease to be regarded as a male. This is set forth in Kitsuse’s unpublished paper on “The Male Alliance” (n.d.).

⁹ The fact that some roles are age-graded reminds us that socialization into roles (and, therefore, identification as we have conceived of it) goes on throughout life. (E.g., at the age of 65 many men try to learn the roles of retired worker and unemployed husband.)

¹⁰ This formulation offers no answer to the question of how to deal conceptually with a situation in which there is no interaction in any conventional sense between *M* and *I* as, for example, between a television actor or baseball hero and his juvenile admirer.

lically supported norms, whereas "personal" implies a relative absence of norms and pattern in their interaction.¹¹ Let us assume a dyad in which *A* disapproves of some of *B*'s behaviors.¹² To the degree that the relationship is positional, it is likely that any other member of the society in *A*'s social position would also disapprove of *B*'s behavior and that *A*'s disapproval is registered in the form of institutionalized negative sanctions. To the degree that the relationship is personal, the likelihood increases that *A*'s negative response is idiosyncratic and that other members of the society would not disapprove of *B*'s behavior.

An example which emphasizes the positional pole of this distinction and in which, therefore, sanctions would be institutionalized would occur in a society where a disobedient son of, say, ten years of age would usually receive a box on the ear for failing to obey his father's command to go to bed. An example which emphasizes the personal pole of the distinction and in which, therefore, behaviors are not so institutionalized can be seen in the marital relationship in the American middle class. In this relationship there is no expression of culturalized outrage if a husband proves more nurturant to his wife than she is to him or vice versa; there is none if he proves more dominant, or vice versa.

3. Probably the most obvious distinction concerns the size of the chunk of behavior involved. In positional identification, *I* responds implicitly to *M* as the incumbent of a position and explicitly to him as the occupant of a reciprocal role. Accordingly, *I* is expected to pay attention to—indeed, to be allowed to observe—only those of *M*'s behaviors which pertain to *M*'s position, especially to those involved in the relevant role performance. *M*'s other behaviors are irrelevant or, in the common parlance, are "his own business," "his own affair." Personal identification presumably proceeds on a basis of greater intimacy, which implies that *I* is allowed to know more about *M*'s behaviors and there are fewer behaviors about which *M* is disposed to throw the mantle of privacy.

4. The relatively formal and segmental properties of positional

¹¹ Of course the dyad may generate its own norms to govern the relationship.

¹² For the moment we substitute *A* and *B* for *M* and *I* in order to avoid the connotation of super- and subordination.

identification as compared with the relatively intimate and nonspecific characteristics of personal identification suggest that whereas the relationship from which positional identification develops might be of short or long duration, personal identification would probably require a relatively long relationship to permit the necessary intimacy to develop.

5. Behavior theory suggests that if one person has influence over another, the former has (or has had) some means of rewarding the latter. Since positional identification can result from a relationship of brief duration over a narrow segment of behavior, it would appear that *M* would have to be in control of definite, although not necessarily material, resources—e.g., a specific skill. Conversely, it would appear that—in the present—personal identification denotes a relationship in which the relationship itself rather than *M*'s resources or control over resources is rewarding. Of course, it may be theorized that personal identification implies that there has been some period—perhaps in the forgotten past—when *M* made resources (such as food and amusements) available to *I*.

6. From (4) it follows that the feelings which *I* should hold for *M* in positional identification should center on respect and admiration of *M* specifically for the latter's role behaviors. There seems to be no theoretical requirement that *I* should have generalized feelings of emotional warmth for *M*. Nor does it seem directly required, as Slater (1961) proposes, that *I* should harbor hostile feelings for *M*. By using Whiting's (1959) formulation, however, and thus presuming that the positionally identifying *I* has feelings of "status envy" with respect to *M*, one *can* get to negative affect through equating envy with hostility. Appropriate feelings for personal identification would be affection and emotional warmth. Admiration might well appear as part of the emotionalized halo in personal identification, but it would not seem to be psychologically essential.

7. Because personal identification tends to involve a wide range of interaction, each actor tends to become irreplaceable to the other. On the other hand, because positional identification tends to involve a formal relationship concerning a relatively narrow segment of the behavior of both *M* and *I*, positional identification does not necessarily

result in either actor's becoming irreplaceable to the other. In positional identification *I* and *M* tend to see their relationship as a means; in personal identification they see it as an end.

Reference has been made (5) to the likelihood that at some time *M* has had control over resources of interest to *I*. Correlated with control is the probability that *M*'s status is superior to that of *I*. Because of the difference in status between the two actors, it seems probable that they will interact on a task-oriented rather than on a recreational basis. Task is here taken to include the activities involved in child-rearing. Because of this it seems likely that the *initial* interaction between *M* and *I* will be on the basis of a relationship involving reciprocal roles.

If the foregoing reasoning is sound, then initial identification is usually on a positional rather than a personal basis, *I* is learning behavior which is reciprocal to *M*'s, and thus *I* is identifying reciprocally with *M*. In other words, it seems most likely that an initial identification is positional and reciprocal.

In a reciprocal relationship *I* will usually have some opportunity to observe and to learn *M*'s behavior to some degree, even though *I* may never have an opportunity to act it out overtly. G. H. Mead (1934) speaks of this as taking the role of the other. In a discussion of social learning in childhood, Maccoby (1959) says that the child may be able to reproduce the responses of another person without putting himself in the other's place in an empathic sense because "he may be making quite a different stimulus-response connection than his model is making" (p. 248). In her discussion of covert role-taking as a method of acquiring the responses of others, she proposes two conditions which affect *I*'s ability to play the roles of others: the frequency of *I*'s interaction with the role model, and the degree of *M*'s control over resources that the role-taker wants.

In some cases the relationship between the two actors widens beyond that specified in the initial reciprocal task-oriented roles. This widening may involve new roles with respect to which the interaction will be reciprocal, or it may be non-task-oriented, expressive, and friendly. The latter basis would enable *I* to begin to identify similarly with *M* in overt behavior, and this aspect of the identification is personal rather

than positional. According to the present formulation, then, it is possible for *I* to have both a positional and a personal identification with the same *M*. Indeed, it appears that many personal identifications grow out of relationships which at first engender positional identifications.

It seems possible that some of the difficulty that has arisen in the effort to trace the more or less lasting influence of parents on their children has resulted from a preoccupation with personality variables and neglect of the concepts of role and position. Perhaps the positional-personal distinction will prove valuable for further research on identification.

Table 2 summarizes the main points of this section as well as the principal differences between our formulation and that of Slater (1961).

IDENTIFICATION AND SOCIALIZATION

To further our attempts at conceptual clarification, it is important to take note of certain terms whose meanings seem close to that of identification. In particular, let us consider socialization, symbiosis, love, introjection, internalization, imitation, and empathy.

Since the acquisition of socially approved (and also of socially condemned) behavior is said to occur both through identification and through socialization, it is advisable to distinguish between these two terms. In customary parlance, "socialization" refers to the acquisition of skills, attitudes, values, norms, and the disposition to conform by a person who is usually but not necessarily young. There is emphasis on the specific behaviors which the socializer(s) are trying to induce in the socializee—e.g. bowel control in the young child, surgical skills in the young intern. The terminus of the period of learning and the completion of the acquisition of the desired skills are frequently marked by licensing, a graduation ceremony, or other *rite de passage*.

In customary parlance, "identification" means that *I* admires and wishes to model himself after *M*. There is emphasis on *I*'s feeling toward *M* and on his drive to simulate that part of *M*'s behavior which is visible to *I*. Because of the relevance of *I*'s feelings about *M* and because the simulation is thought to be global rather than segmental, it

Table 2. Summary and Comparison of Winch's and Slater's Views on Positional and Personal Identification

Properties of Identification	Winch		Slater	
	POSITIONAL	PERSONAL	POSITIONAL	PERSONAL
1. Relationship between <i>M</i> 's behavior and <i>I</i> 's	Initially reciprocal; may become similar or opposite	Similar or opposite site	Apparently similar	Similar
2. Interaction governed by norms?	Yes	Not necessarily	—	—
3. Segment of behavior involved	Small	Large	Small	Large
4. Duration of relationship	Any duration	Long	Any duration (implied)	Long
5. Control over resources by <i>M</i> ?	Yes, at present	Yes, sometime, not necessarily at present	—	—
6. Feelings of <i>I</i> for <i>M</i>	Admiration, respect; possibly love through halo and/or hate through envy	Love; possibly admiration, respect through halo	Wish to be in shoes of; hostility love	Wish to be like;
7. Irreplaceability of other	Not necessarily	Yes	Not necessarily (implied)	Yes (implied)
8. Process by which developed	Consequence of <i>I</i> 's being put in role relationship with <i>M</i>	Tentatively, Slater's formulation	<i>M</i> does not supply <i>I</i> with warmth; <i>I</i> reacts defensively	Consequence of <i>M</i> 's warmth and support: similar identification, internalization of values

makes a difference who *M* is. The behavior and the identity of the socializer, on the other hand, are merely incidental; the socializee may be subjected to a sequence of more or less interchangeable socializers (as in the educational system) or the role of socializer may even become automated (as in teaching machines).

A somewhat different emphasis concerning the difference between identification and socialization seems to emerge from the peripheralist-centralist distinction. Peripheralists view a person in terms of his overt behavior and frequently speak of the acquired pattern of overt behavior as socialization (product). Centralists, on the other hand, see the "real" person as delineated through his intrapsychic processes. With this outlook, identification (as product) refers to acquired attitudes, feelings, and emotions, which, like the iceberg in the familiar psychoanalytic metaphor, are largely below the level of consciousness.

A difference in the kind of learning is implied in the distinction between the socializer, who is viewed as some sort of teacher or tutor, and *M*, who may not even know of *I*'s existence, as in the case of the small boy's athletic hero. It would seem, then, that socialization typically involves direct tuition with direct reinforcement whereas identification typically involves observation and vicarious reinforcement (see Table 1, p. 8).

One other possible distinction between socialization and identification, as those terms are generally used, is in the breadth of the behavior acquired. It would seem that "socialization" is frequently used with reference to a more or less segmental or situation-specific behavior, whereas "identification" is frequently used to refer to a response or set of responses which permeates most or all of a person's behavior. Thus we tend to say that a person is "socialized into a role" whereas he acquires a "personality trait" through identification. A social position generally embraces a number of roles. For example, a position as district sales manager of the XYZ Corporation includes the roles of subordinate to the vice-president in charge of sales, supervisor to the salesmen in the district, and perhaps special sales representative to the district's most important accounts. Learning the behavior appropriate to a social position involves learning the corresponding roles. Learning a role involves learning the norms which specify behaviors appropriate

to an integrated part of a social position, and it also involves the capacity to produce those behaviors. A person knows a role if, given the appropriate situation, he responds with the appropriate behaviors. Personality, on the other hand, may be conceptualized as more or less stable tendencies of the person irrespective of the situation. If a man is gruffly decisive only when coaching a football team and off the field appears quite diffident, we may think of the former behavior as part of a role performance. If he is gruffly decisive in most or all situations, we may speak of this as a personality trait. Indeed, we might characterize his personality in terms of a disposition to enact one of the roles of his position as coach—that of coach *vis-à-vis* player—wherever he is.

How does identification as conceived in the present book conform to the distinctions which have just been noted? In the present formulation no specification has been made as to the nature of *I*'s feelings about *M* or the awareness of intensity of a drive to simulate *M*'s behavior. It seems at the moment that it would be fruitful to think of *I*'s perception of and feeling toward *M* as a topic for investigation. Since *M*'s behavior is the functional antecedent of behavior subsumable as identification-as-product, the identity and behavior of *M* are emphasized. With respect to the personality-*vs.*-role problem the present formulation is open, and the choice of course (if choice should seem desirable) should be determined by considerations of research strategy and design. And with respect to the kind of learning involved, the present formulation of identification is open and thus permits the inclusion of direct tuition as well as of other kinds of learning. It seems possible, however, that the behaviors acquired through direct tuition can be quite easily explained without reference to the more or less difficult concept of identification, and therefore the strategy of investigation will probably call for the exclusion of learning through direct tuition.

IDENTIFICATION AND SIX OTHER SOMEWHAT RELATED TERMS

At this point it is desirable to consider six other terms which are usually used with a meaning more or less akin to that of Freud's view of identification.

As it is usually used, "symbiosis" denotes the reciprocity (or com-

plementariness and mutuality) of gratification in a relationship of which that between mother and infant is prototypical—i.e., a nurturant-providing person in relation to a dependent-receptive individual. A common connotation of the symbiotic relationship is that the relationship involves one-sided or two-sided exploitation (Winch, 1958). In the language of the present formulation, symbiosis may be regarded as reciprocal identification along the dimension of nurturance.

Freud (1922) emphasizes the distinction between identification with the father and love of father (or, in Freud's terms, "the choice of the father as an object"): "In the first case one's father is what one would like to *be*, and in the second he is what one would like to *have*. The distinction . . . depends upon whether the tie attaches to the subject or to the object of the ego" (p. 62). Redl and Wineman (1951) make love of *M* a necessary precondition for identification. In their phrasing, identification becomes possible only when "the child renounces some of the intensive demands for counterlove from the adult and replaces those exuberant love demands by a readiness to incorporate part of the personality of the adult into the ego ideal and finally into the superego" (p. 191). Thus love seems to denote one person's positive affect toward and desire to possess another, and not necessarily a desire to be like the other. When completely worked out, the concept of love probably implies both similar and reciprocal (or complementary) identification (Winch, 1958, Chaps. 1, 3, 4).

It has been observed that even Freud was not consistent in distinguishing "introjection" from identification. Healy, Bronner, and Bowers (1930) suggest that in the Freudian context identification refers to a desire to be the object (or model) whereas introjection "seems to arise out of the desire to have or retain (incorporate) an object which has been lost, or is in danger of being lost" (p. 241; see also Sanford, 1955). Thus introjection sounds like love as described above, except for the added condition that the object is thought to be lost or imminently losable. This condition seems to suggest the romantic love of the adolescent (Winch, 1952, Chap. 14). Some writers use introject as a transitive verb whose customary object is "values." In this sense introject seems equivalent to internalize (see below). Howe (1955, p. 67) says that some psychoanalytic writers use introjection

to refer to less mature relationships in contrast to the more mature relationships they denote with identification; but she then goes on to say that other psychoanalytic writers reverse this distinction. Thus, contingent upon the writer, introjection seems to be an approximate synonym for either love or identification. In any case the term seems unnecessary, and we advocate its abandonment.

"Internalization" may be defined as "adopting as one's own the ideas, practices, standards, or values of another person or of society" (English and English, 1958, p. 272). Thus internalization is a special case of similar identification.

"Empathy" may be defined as the process of imagining oneself in the role of another and responding as one thinks the other would to the situation in which the other is perceived or imagined to be. To Sullivan (1953) empathy appeared to be a process of communication occurring in infancy whereby the anxiety of the mother induces anxiety in the infant. The concept of empathy appears often in discussion of role-taking skill (e.g., Sarbin, 1954, pp. 236-38, 246-48) and of skill in judging the responses of others (Dymond, 1949; Bruner and Tagiuri, 1954, pp. 640-46; Lindzey and Borgatta, 1954, p. 427). Another frequent connotation of the term is that the affect which accompanies the empathic response is regarded as positive. Evidence suggests that positive feelings toward the other do increase the extent to which the judge regards the judged as similar to himself (Knight, 1923; Shen, 1925; Ferguson, 1949; Fiedler, Blaisdell, and Warrington, 1952; Lundy, 1956). We may recall that Sears has built role-taking into his paradigm of the process of identification (cf. pp. 7-8 above).

"All role-taking is imitation," posits Maccoby (1959, p. 241), "but not all imitation is role-taking." Lazowick (1955) distinguishes between imitation and identification. Imitation occurs, he says, when *I* copies or approximates the reaction patterns of *M* "without, at first, having any understanding of their significance, meaning, or purpose." He defines identification in terms of the relation between *I*'s set of meanings and *M*'s set of meanings (p. 176). Miller and Dollard (1941) suggest that "different types of imitation [may] form a continuum ranging from pure matched-dependent behavior at one extreme to copying at the other" (pp. 159-60). Usage suggests that imitation

has a more behavioral connotation, with emphasis on cognition, whereas identification (especially through its development in Freudian psychology) has a more psychodynamic connotation, with emphasis on emotion. (It will be recalled that a parallel distinction was drawn above between socialization and identification.) It seems, moreover, that imitation—including the Miller-Dollard notion of matched-dependent behavior—refers to *I*'s observing *M*'s behavior and being directly rewarded for simulating it. Thus it appears that according to usage imitation refers to the more overt aspects of identification-as-product plus a specific method of learning that behavior.¹³

Now let us draw some conclusions concerning the utility of these six terms for the present investigation. *Love* may refer to *A*'s feeling of warmth and positive affect for *B*, or it may additionally refer to a "wish to possess" *B*, or it may carry other surplus meaning. Because of its ambiguity, "love" does not seem a useful term for such discourse; terms of more limited denotation and connotation would seem preferable. Because of contradictory usage, it seems desirable also to discard *introjection*. *Symbiosis* and *internalization* refer to special cases of identification (reciprocal and similar, respectively). Since for some these terms carry moral connotations, it would seem sensible to discard them in favor of identification plus the appropriate qualifiers. *Imitation* seems a useful term to denote a particular way of acquiring a particular class of behaviors, and *empathy* appears to be a suitable synonym for attitudinal role-taking.

There are numerous other terms which might be considered here: identity, ego-identity, ego, superego, self, etc. We shall not pause to consider them, however, because we are restricting our attention to the more or less lasting influence of one person, *M*, on another, *I*, and because none of the latter terms pertains precisely to such a dyadic relationship.

¹³ Professor Donald Campbell asserts that for an approach goal, matched-dependent and observational formulations lead to the same behavior. The crucial distinction, he insists, arises in the case of punishment: if *I* inhibits his response on seeing *M* punished, then the behavior is observational and not matched-dependent.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The semantic morass sketched in the foregoing paragraphs has caused some students to conclude that the term "identification" should be discarded in the interests of better communication. Opposed to this view is a school of psychologists who "know" what identification means and aver that whatever confusion exists merely attests to the psychological heresy or ignorance of those who profess the confusion. To the writer there is a third and more acceptable position. There can be no dispute as to the confusion surrounding the term when the user is trying to be precise in his denotation, but if the term is used without qualifiers, it can serve very well to denote not a single variable but a whole area of inquiry. That is the sense in which the term seems useful and in which it is being used in the present context. It follows, then, that when an attempt is made to refer to identification as a variable, one or more qualifying words or phrases are required to communicate with precision.

In the present context identification in general refers to the more or less lasting influence of one *M* on the behavior (including attitudes) of *I*. Where precision is called for, qualifications will be made in terms of:

1. Whether the reference is to identification as *product* or as *process*
2. The type of identification (i.e., the nature of the relationship between the behavior, including attitudes, of *M* and *I*)—whether *similar*, *reciprocal*, or *opposite*
3. The level of *I*'s consciousness involved: *overt*, *covert but conscious*, or *unconscious*
4. The kind of identification—whether *positional* or *personal*—and, if possible, a more precise specification—e.g., the role-relationship of foreman-worker or the personality trait of dominance.

Since these qualifiers become especially important in attempts to operationalize the concept objectively, they will receive particular emphasis in Chapters 7 and 8.

4

Structure and function: Theorizing about the independent variables

NARROWING THE CONTEXT TO THE NUCLEAR FAMILY

We have spoken earlier of identification as interpersonal influence. Perhaps we should begin our study by considering the possibility that each person with whom we come into contact may influence our behavior. Since, however, we are interested only in the more or less lasting influence of one individual on another, we can dismiss from consideration such trivial influence as is manifested when we modify for a moment the direction in which we are walking to avoid colliding with another pedestrian.

Scholars and laymen seem to share the conviction that young people are more susceptible to interpersonal influence than are those who are well into the years of maturity. Equally widespread is the view that

models are typically persons whose statuses are superordinate to those of the respective identifiers.¹ This suggests that the ideal situation in which to study identification is one in which young people are in some kind of dependent or subordinate relationship to older persons. Such relationships as priest-parishioner, therapist-patient, and teacher-student come to mind. But it is the emphasis of our folk wisdom and of Freudian psychology as well that the parent-child relationship is the emotional prototype of the others. Since layman and scholar seem agreed that in Western societies at least the influence of one parent or the other tends to exceed the influence of any other one or two persons in our lives, it seems prudent to focus our study on interpersonal influence in the context of the family.²

SOCIETAL AND FAMILIAL STRUCTURES³

Many studies of the influence of parents on children have ignored the societal context of the family and have been concerned with one parent only—the mother. In effect, such studies have been based on the tacit assumption that the mother-child dyad constitutes a closed social system. For Freud the social system was father-mother-child, but this system seemed almost completely impervious to societal influences. Within this triad, moreover, Freud seemed little concerned with any flow of action except from each parent to the child.

¹ The possibility of a reverse influence should not be dismissed. Parents are sometimes said to be identifying with their children, as when a parent speaks "baby talk" to an infant. The influence of the younger or subordinate on the older or superordinate is a topic worthy of investigation. It is our view, however, that this is a relatively minor area to be filled in after theory has been developed and verified about the influence of superordinate on subordinate.

² This same line of reasoning suggests the prospect of generalizing conclusions drawn from a study of parent-child influence to such other relationships as those noted above. (This is a disposition to which Freudians are especially prone.) It hardly requires emphasis that the range of such generalizations calls for empirical verification.

³ Let us define *social structure* as a pattern of interrelated social positions, each with its associated roles. A *familial structure* is, of course, a special social structure with its own positions and roles. A *societal structure* is the society-wide pattern of more or less interrelated social structures and their constituent social positions. A social system viewed statically is a social structure; it may be analyzed dynamically in terms of social functions.

A sociological orientation leads to a consideration of the parent-child dyad as a subsystem of the familial system and of the family as a subsystem of the society. Locating subsystems in relation to systems leads to conclusions as to the social position, occupants of which have high and low probabilities of interacting with each other, and also as to a related topic—the channels, or networks, of communication. For the study of identification, knowledge of structure leads to the discovery of the social positions containing *Ms* accessible to an *I* and of the lines of communication, and hence the kinds and sources of information, to which *I* has access. Let us consider first the implications of societal structure and the family's location in it, and secondly the implications of familial structure and *I*'s location in it.

Class, Age, and Sex. The more heterogeneous the society is and the more complex its structure, the greater are the consequences of locating the family within the society. Stratification has been the major dimension of analysis of societal structures. The available literature has little to say directly about the differential impact of social strata on the identifications of children. Much of the literature has been concerned with a description of interclass differences in child-rearing methods, especially with respect to the categories of interest to Freudians: feeding, weaning, and toilet-training.⁴ These studies did not relate child-personality variables directly to structural, functional, or cultural variables.

Reflection on ways in which differences in social class might affect the identifications of children leads to a consideration of several vari-

⁴ Findings of later studies (beginning with Maccoby and Gibbs [1954]) have been difficult to reconcile with the study of Davis and Havighurst (1946), which influenced thought on this topic for a number of years. Bronfenbrenner (1958b) has ingeniously brought coherence into these studies by interpreting their varying results as reflecting changes in the typical child-rearing practices of the middle and working classes and by interpreting these changes as the consequences of differential access of the social classes to the media of mass communication. (Cf. also Havighurst and Davis, 1955.) After an intensive survey of the literature on social class and socialization, Sewell (1961) finds a relatively low correlation between the position of the child in the class system and some aspects of personality, including measured personality adjustment. He goes on to lament the "appallingly low" level of research and theoretical sophistication on the topic of social class and childhood personality.

ables, among them subcultures of social classes and differences among social classes in access to information, possession of resources, and familial structure.

An example of a study portraying a cultural difference associated with social class is that of Kohn (1959a), who found that middle-class parents are more likely than working-class parents to ascribe importance to the child's acting on the basis of internalized standards of conduct, whereas working-class parents are more likely than middle-class parents to stress obedience to parental authority. This finding has implications for internalization of discipline—i.e., for personal identification. In another paper, Kohn and Carroll (1960) report that middle-class families are more likely than those of the working class to feel that the father is supportive of the children, whereas in the working class the father's function is conceived to be largely that of setting limits (to which the father himself would add the duty to supply financial support) and the working-class mother is regarded as the parent who gives more emotional support. This study has implications for the content of familial roles which the child learns—i.e., for differences among social classes in positional identification.⁵ We referred above (n. 4, p. 32) to Bronfenbrenner's conclusion that social classes have differential access to media of communication, with the consequence that child-rearing procedures tend to change more rapidly in the middle than in the working class. Presently we shall consider two other probable determinants of differential identification—familial structure and familial functions—and we shall note that both seem to

⁵ Related to class differences in familial roles is the literature on class differences in sex roles. Hartley (1960), studying elementary schoolboys' perceptions of masculine roles, found that boys from lower-middle-class and working-class homes assigned nontraditional domestic activities to men significantly more frequently than did boys from upper-middle-class homes. Rabban (1950) reports that working-class children aged 3½ to 8 years are aware earlier and more clearly of sex-role patterns than are middle-class children, and that this difference is especially great between girls of the two social classes. Awareness of sex-role patterns was measured by the child's toy choices. Criteria were (1) awareness of self as a male or female, (2) awareness of clothing and hair styles as features of maleness and femaleness, and (3) choice of sex-appropriate parental roles. Ort (1952) asserts that middle-class adolescent boys express more role conflict than do those of the lower class.

vary with social stratification. It seems likely, therefore, that social class is an antecedent condition associated with variation in the identifications of children, but that its influence works through subculture, familial structure, etc. For this reason we prefer to formulate hypotheses about identification not in terms of social class but in terms of variables thought to be more directly related to identification.

Another aspect of societal structure (in addition to stratification) which presumably has direct consequences for identification is the degree to which associations are age-graded and sex-segregated. In some settings the child may be almost entirely in the company of adults; in others, in the age-graded company of his peers; in still others, in company of all ages. It seems logical that a child in a setting where interaction is not segregated by ages will learn adult roles more easily than a child in a setting where there is little opportunity to observe adult activities. In some societies interaction is segregated by sex at a relatively early age, and this will presumably have consequences for sex-role identification.

The Composition of the Household. To get some feel for the possible variation in the composition of the household, we may recall Margaret Mead's report (1939a, Chap. 4) that in Samoa it is not unusual for a half dozen related nuclear families to share a single household. In this setting the young child comes to perceive the world of elders as consisting of a half dozen more or less interchangeable mothers and a corresponding number of fathers. The Samoan child diffuses his affection and consequently has only relatively shallow emotional involvement with any one adult. Using American subjects, Sarbin (1954), reports that "persons reared by multiple parent figures have self-conceptions that are: (a) more 'social' and extended, and (b) more homogeneous than persons reared by one- or two-parent figures" (pp. 234-44). Spiro's testimony (1958) about the relationships between the children of a kibbutz and their nurse-teachers is consistent with the conclusions of Mead and Sarbin.

Murdock and Whiting (1951, p. 30) find on the basis of cross-cultural data that the presence of grandparents in the household tends to make for sterner imposition of the basic moral rules of the society.

The same influence is reported in a study of grandmother-mother pairs in an urban community setting in our own society. When grandmothers live with their offspring, both the grandmother and her daughter report stricter attitudes about child-rearing than do grandmother-mother pairs who live apart (Staples and Smith, 1954). Another line of inquiry based on cross-cultural data leads to the conclusion that the warm, nonauthoritarian relationship frequently noted between alternate generations tends to obtain only when the grandparental generation is not in a position of authority over the parental generation (Apple, 1956).⁶

The structure of the nuclear family is widely regarded as of crucial relevance to the identifications of children. Inferences can be drawn from reports on the correlates of absent vs. present parents. Lynn and Sawrey (1959) report a study on the differential effects of the absence of the father on children of Norwegian sailors. The absences of the father-sailors are frequent and prolonged—up to two years at a time. When compared with the controls, the father-absent boys showed greater immaturity and stronger strivings toward father identifications and compensatory masculinity. In addition, father-absent boys as compared to father-present boys and father-absent girls showed poorer peer adjustment. Father-absent girls exhibited more dependency on their mothers than did the father-present girls. In an earlier analysis of these data it had been found that father-absent children, as compared with controls, showed a high degree of dependence, pseudo-maturity, and idealization of the father (Tiller, 1957). After an analysis of court records in this country, Toby (1957) concluded that broken homes are more highly correlated with delinquency for girls than for boys and for pre-adolescent than for adolescent boys. Both during and since slavery, Negro lower-class families have been characterized by a rela-

⁶ Information on the import of housing programs for children's identifications comes from a study of working-class families in East London. Young and Willmott (1957) found that when a nuclear family moved from the urban location in which the parents had been reared to a suburban housing project, the amount of interaction with relatives was sharply reduced. For the children this move meant that the nuclear family came much closer than previously to representing the total meaning of kinship.

tively high incidence of absence of the father and presence of the maternal grandmother. Frazier (1939, p. 144) notes the relevance of this familial structure for the identification of Negro children:

The dependence of the child upon the mother, who is the supreme authority in the household, often creates a solidarity of feeling and sentiment that makes daughters reluctant to leave home with their husbands and brings sons back from their wanderings . . . the mothers on their part show equally strong attachment for their grown sons and daughters.

He goes on to say that grandmothers were regarded as repositories of wisdom and as the most responsible members of families—i.e., as the ones who kept “the generations together when fathers and even mothers abandoned their offspring” (p. 150).

Other studies comparing sons in father-absent and father-present families report that the former show less aggression in fantasy (Sears, Pintler, and Sears, 1946) and have more idealistic and feminine fantasies of the father-figure (Bach, 1946).

Except for the literature on foundlings and orphans, the only studies that have come to our attention on absent mothers concern women who are out of the home during the day at some gainful employment. One study (Hartley, 1960) explored the differences between children of working and non-working mothers in assigning work-role activities to women. Children from 5 to 11 years of age were asked how they would describe to a man from Mars “what a girl (boy) (woman) (man) needs to know or be able to do.” Significantly more sons of working mothers (43%) than sons of non-working mothers (15%) assigned work-role activities to women. Among girls the fact of having a working mother apparently had less impact; about a quarter of the girls assigned work-role activities to women whether or not their mothers were employed. Differences in perceptions of work roles, however, were reflected in females’ plans for the future. Significantly more daughters of non-working mothers as compared with daughters of working mothers gave “housewife” as their primary choice. When asked whether they would continue working after marriage and the coming of children, significantly more daughters of working mothers said they thought they would continue working.

Lois Hoffman (1961) found that the degree of positive affect reported by the child with respect to the mother varied not only with whether or not the mother worked but also with whether or not she liked her work. The child was least disposed to associate "mother" with the verbs "praises," "smiles," "listens," "helps," "explains" when the mother was working and disliked her job, gave a higher average level of positive affect if the mother was not working, and responded with a still higher mean level if she was working and liked her job. Less directly related but still relevant to the identification of children are the studies of Wolfe (1959), who reports that the wife of a dominant husband is less likely to be working than the wife of a man who is not dominant, and of Stolz (1960, pp. 773-74), who cites studies showing "no statistically significant relation . . . between maternal employment and delinquency, adolescent adjustment, school marks in high school, and dependent-independent behavior of five-year-olds."

Ordinal position has been studied many times, but with diverse and conflicting findings; apparently it is not a fruitful variable for developmental studies unless the design of the study keeps it under control. Koch (1954, 1955a, 1955b, 1956a, 1956b, 1956c, 1956d) has done this by limiting her sample to two-children families. In an analysis of Koch's data, Brim (1958) has presented evidence to indicate that the child's identification is affected by the sex and age of the sibling in relation to the sex and age of the child. Brim found that cross-sex as compared with same-sex siblings possessed more traits appropriate to the cross-sex role—that is, that a girl in a two-child family is more boyish if her sibling is a boy—and that this effect was more noticeable for the younger sibling than for the older.

From the foregoing it would be possible to formulate a multitude of hypotheses with some structural variable as the antecedent condition and one or more varieties of identification as the consequence. We shall confine ourselves to a few of the more general possibilities. The significance of structural variables, both societal and familial, is that they determine the roles with whose occupants the child has an opportunity to interact, to observe, to admire or to dislike, to be rewarded by, to learn from, to identify. The point is very simple and is remi-

niscent of Sutherland's principle of differential association (Cohen, Lindesmith, and Schuessler, 1956, pp. 5-43): that it is easier for the child to learn from someone who is present than from someone who is not.

H₁

The greater *I*'s opportunity to associate with and to observe the behavior of one or more *Ms* enacting a single role or set of roles and the less his contact with *Ms* performing other roles, the greater will be his identification with the performers of the first role or set of roles.⁷

The studies cited above of Margaret Mead (1939a), Sarbin (1954), and Spiro (1958) suggest that the likelihood of *I*'s becoming emotionally involved with the *M* or *Ms* in a given relationship is inversely related to the number of *Ms* in the relationship. G. H. Mead's formulation (1934) concerning play, the game, and the generalized other gives rise to the thought that the ease with which the child abstracts role performance from role behavior should be directly related to the number of *Ms* he can observe in a given role. Hence:

H₂

The more *Ms* *I* can observe in a given role, the more likely it is that his identification will be positional

⁷ In each of the hypotheses the phrase "other things being equal" is intended but omitted from the phrasing to avoid bothersome repetition. In Chapter 3 we pointed out that precision of denotation could be achieved with the term "identification" only if we specified the type, level, and kind, and whether product or process was meant. No such qualifiers appear in our first hypothesis, but it is fairly evident that the dependent variable is identification-as-product. Aside from this, the lack of qualifiers leaves the hypothesis so loose and all-embracing that it refers to all types, levels, and kinds of identification. This is not, however, a research hypothesis. (Who would care to show that a child's behavior is more related in some specified respect to that of either parent than to the behavior of someone the child has never seen or heard of?) As we come closer to research hypotheses, the distinctions which have been noted in Chapter 3 become more critical in the choice of appropriate research operations.

rather than personal and the more focused will be his positional identification.

And, finally, the study of the sons of Norse fishermen (Lynn and Sawrey, 1959) suggests:

H₃

The absence of an *M* for a role that *I* is importuned to learn results in *I*'s showing anxiety and compensatory behavior with respect to that role.

To this point our formal analysis of the consequence of variation in societal and familial structures has been in terms of the availability or nonavailability of *Ms* from whom *I* can learn and with whom he can identify. Through this analysis has run the tacit assumption that there are some standardized adult male roles (including the role of father) concerning which *I*'s opportunity to learn about and to identify with depends on the presence of an adult male *M*. A similar tacit assumption has existed with respect to adult female roles, including the role of mother.

As we make such assumptions explicit, objections begin to flood our thoughts. First, we have seen from the study of Kohn and Carroll (1960) that the roles of father and mother are not standardized but manifest class-linked variation. Secondly, both common sense and some of the studies cited above suggest that if the father is absent, there is usually some consequent modification in the behavior of the mother. Indeed, we have seen that if the father is absent, the mother tends to stress obedience in her children and to overprotect them, and of course the probability is increased that she will go out of the home to work. The children, moreover, tend to develop an idealized and feminized conception of the paternal role and a more work-oriented conception of the maternal role. These observations do not, however, mean that there are *no* standardized adult roles from which *I* can learn appropriate behavior, nor that there is a complete lack of association between social structures and identification. Rather, these qualify-

ing remarks explain why such correlations will be substantially less than perfect.

To systematize our thinking about intrafamilial behavior—to distinguish the important from the trivial and to trace variations in the handling of important behavior consequent upon variations in structure—we shall take up the topic of basic societal function, and then we shall turn to the related concept of parental function.

THE BASIC SOCIETAL FUNCTIONS AND FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS

A social function, as the phrase is used here, denotes (1) the condition resulting from the operation through time of a social structure and (2) the activity which results in the condition. The activity constitutes the business or task (or perhaps one of several tasks) of the social structure involved. The outcome (consequent condition) of the activity is of benefit to individuals or to the group or to both. By postulation, a basic societal function is a social function whose outcome is necessary for the survival of a society and also is beneficial to its members; hence a basic societal function dispenses benefits both to the group and to its constituent members.⁸

To postulate exactly what are the basic societal functions is a somewhat arbitrary matter; where theorizing has been carried on concerning societal functions, a number of different phrasings have been used. It is our judgment that the following set of five basic societal functions is as comprehensive as any other set that has been proposed: familial (replacement), economic, political, socializing-educational, and religious. The empirical referents of the basic societal functions are behaviors of individuals, separately or in interaction, which are oriented toward the performance of some task in some one or more of these five areas.

A core relationship is said to exist when there is customarily patterned interaction between the occupants of two or more differenti-

⁸ Therefore basic societal function is equivalent to M. J. Levy's "functional requisite" (1952), with the additional property that each function is individual-serving as well.

ated roles in the carrying out of a basic societal function. Thus, the core relationship for the function of replacement is husband-wife-offspring; stating the relationship from the viewpoint of the offspring, it is father-mother-child. The corresponding core relationship for the other four basic societal functions are: political, official-constituent; socializing-educational, teacher-pupil; religious, priest-parishioner; and economic, one with respect to production, worker-manager, and a second bearing upon the distributive aspect, producer-consumer. By virtue of its structure and function, moreover, the family has certain derived, or corollary, functions: those benefiting all members—position-conferring and emotional gratification—and those oriented to offspring—the parental functions of nurturance and control.⁹

Since the outcomes of social functions, including basic societal functions, are beneficial to individuals, we may think of them as having utility (or as being resources). A resource is something having utility, and utility may be defined as the capacity to satisfy a human want or need. From the standpoint of the individual, rather than from that of the collectivity, it is postulated that the most important benefit, or resource, resulting from each of the basic societal functions is as follows:

Familial (replacement): providing the individual (as parent) with a sense of “immortality” or chronological continuity with the on-going society

Economic: providing the material means of maintenance, pleasure, and perhaps status-improvement

Political: providing protection and resolving conflicting claims without recourse to violence

Socializing-educational: providing the individual with the skills needed for participation as a member of the society

Religious: providing a procedure for dealing with anxiety and for attuning one's goals to those of the society

As indicated above, there are other functions than those here referred to as basic societal. To the extent that a social group is engaged

⁹ This formulation is developed in Winch, in press, Chap. 1 and Parts II, III, and V.

in carrying out a function, it is engaged in task-oriented behavior. Recreation and bickering are examples of non-task-oriented behavior. The level of an actor's awareness as to the task-oriented quality—and hence the importance—of his group's activity depends on his sense of the urgency of the need, both to the society or other collectivity and to its individual members. These two points will be developed in later sections.

Now let us consider the prospective utility of functional analysis. For our purpose it orients our thinking by suggesting two important questions: (1) In which societal structures are the important activities going on, and to what extent are these activities being carried on in the family? More specifically, how is economic activity organized? What is the relation of this organization to the nuclear family? Does the family till a plot of ground? Does it try to feed itself largely from the garden? (2) In terms of what roles do individuals interact, and what roles relate parent and child to each other? Thus, if production is carried on within the family, the father and son have not only a parent-child relationship but also one that we might call foreman-worker; if religious activities are carried on in the family, the priest-parishioner relationship is added to the father-son relationship. We shall consider these two questions in the following two sections. Later in this chapter we shall reconsider the utility of functional analysis in the study of identification.¹⁰

VARIATION IN THE STRUCTURAL LOCUS OF THE BASIC SOCIETAL FUNCTIONS

In all societies the family is the one social group that can carry out the reproductive function legitimately. With respect to the other basic societal functions, however, some societies are organized around more

¹⁰ The present analysis has a good deal in common with those of Thibaut and Kelley (1959) and of Homans (1961). All three analyses focus on the mutually rewarding exchange in the dyad. Our analysis differs from the other two in its attempt to classify resources (i.e., potential rewards) and to locate the structures in which their production and availability have been institutionalized.

or less all-purpose social groups. The church in medieval Europe, the isolated self-sufficient farm family of eighteenth- or nineteenth-century America, and the family in traditional China are examples of multi-functional social structures.

With respect to contemporary urban-industrial societies, we are accustomed to think of organizations which are specialized to perform one or another of the basic societal functions. In America, for example, the economic function is carried out *inter alia* by the General Motors Corporation; the political function, by the Democratic Committee of Cook County; the socializing-educational function, by the Jonesville High School; and the religious function, by the First Methodist Church. As we reflect on these four concrete organizations, however, we notice that to some extent each performs other basic societal functions in addition to the one about which it is explicitly organized. For example, to the extent that it sets and integrates goals for its employees, and indeed for its consumers, GMC may be regarded as carrying out the religious function;¹¹ by inducting neophytes into the mysteries of political life the Democratic Committee is performing the socializing-educational function.

Next let us consider the range within which basic societal functions are carried out by the social group called the nuclear family. The minimal point is held by the Nayar, a society having virtually no nuclear family whatsoever (Gough, 1952, 1960; Linton, 1936; Zel-ditch, 1955). The scope of functions fulfilled within the family is very slight within the kibbutz described by Spiro (1956), in which the parent-child relationship seems to have no content other than the affectionate. At the other extreme, as we have noted, is the nuclear family of the isolated homestead in this country a century or more ago (Calhoun, 1945).¹² Along the range of functionality the contemporary middle-

¹¹ Winch (in press) proposes the integrating of goals and the providing of sanctions as the society-oriented function of the religious institution.

¹² With respect to larger familial structures than the nuclear, the peasant family of traditional China is a straightforward example of a highly functional and almost totally self-sufficient family. The analysis of the traditional family of the Chinese gentry is somewhat more complex. In both the peasantry and the gentry, the procreative function was recognized as highly important and as the

class urban family of this country falls closer to the former examples than to the latter. Parsons believes that the functions of this family are at a minimum (Parsons and Bales, 1955, p. 354). He conceives of the "basic and irreducible functions" of the nuclear family as "first, the primary socialization of children so that they can truly become members of the society into which they have been born; second, the stabilization of the adult personalities of the population of the society" (Parsons and Bales, 1955, pp. 16-17). By our definition, replacement is the basic societal function of the family. This allows the kibbutz to qualify as having a family, whereas by Parsons' definition it would be disqualified.

ROLES AS CONSEQUENCES OF BASIC SOCIETAL FUNCTIONS

Let us continue to explore the significance of functions by hypothesizing fathers and sons in two quite different settings. In the first society the adult male within the nuclear family provides the family's food and much of its clothing through his hunting and serves as a household priest to intercede with the deceased ancestors, who have become deities. In the second society the adult male performs the

immediate purpose of marriage. Both families had explicit political and religious functions. But the family of the gentry did buy some goods and services rather than produce almost all of them, as the peasant family did, and it is true that members of the gentry family, whether old or young, male or female, were not likely to engage in physical labor. Instead of being engaged in the immediate acts of production, members of the gentry family were more typically engaged in acts of administration: overseeing properties, collecting rents, supervising servants, etc. Not only was the family the unit of administration and of consumption, the locus of power and of the ownership of property, but for any given individual there was virtually no alternative to remaining with his family—no place to go. In a society like this, anyone who would try to live outside the family not only would be regarded as without ancestors but would immediately find himself unemployed, defenseless, without food, shelter, or clothing, and lacking friends or associates. He might well be suspected of being a criminal. It is reported that sons of the gentry sustained respect, awe, and avoidance toward the father to a later age than among the peasantry. This seems reasonable, for in the gentry there would be no opportunity for son and father to become companions in the fields or for the son gradually to excel the father in functionally relevant labor.

former but not the latter function. If a son should begin to view his father with disdain as the latter grows old and feeble, it is reasoned that it would probably be in the second society rather than the first. The reasoning is as follows: In the second society the father's only function is economic, and he is no longer able to carry out that function. Since the father in the first society can still intercede with the ancestors after he is too old to hunt, his son will view him as continuing to be useful.

In the first of these settings we have given the boy three roles with respect to the man: son, subordinate worker, and parishioner. The man, reinforced by the society, expects the boy to conform to his control (parental function), to be a good worker (economic function), and to be devout or perhaps merely to perform the ritual passably (religious function). And the boy learns—probably both from the man and from others in the society—to assess the father in terms of the way in which he exercises control, his industry in hunting and the quality of his marksmanship, and his seeming relationship with the spirits of the deceased ancestors. Each of these core relationships represents a common interest. It involves a task with respect to which each actor (the man, say) is expected to show normatively defined behavior which is normatively differentiated from the behavior of the other actor (the boy), and with respect to which each actor expects to receive some reward. In other words, there is for each basic societal function a task or class of tasks with reference to which there is a division of labor resulting in a differentiated set of roles; the interaction between the occupants of these roles is viewed as leading to an outcome which is important to the society and rewarding to the actors. In this sense each role relationship adds substance to the total relationship. On the other hand, when the functions and hence the role relationships within the nuclear family are few, the total relationship is thin, and each actor can respond to the other only in terms of characteristics of personality.

In this presentation, function denotes the interactional context (i.e., the nature of the activities) and the roles in terms of which the interaction takes place. Since basic societal functions involve roles and

relationships, it is a deductive necessity that, other things being equal, a highly functional family will have more roles and relationships involving the child with one or both parents than will the minimally functional family.

H₄

The greater the number of roles relating a child and a parent, the greater will be the range of behavior over which the child identifies with the parent.¹³

H₄ implies that a child who participates with the parent in carrying out some task-oriented activity (as on the family farm or in the family store) will display more identification with the parent than will a child in settings lacking such joint participation in task-oriented activities (as in the suburban home).

IDENTIFICATION AND DEGREE OF FUNCTIONALITY IN THE FAMILY¹⁴

To the extent that the nuclear family is the social group within which the basic societal functions are performed, we may speak of it as a task-oriented group. We shall assume that members of task-oriented groups tend to be aware of the significance and importance of their task-oriented behaviors. Depending upon the level of need and the organization of the society, however, a specific behavior may be conceived as functional and task-oriented or as nonfunctional and recreational. With respect to the behaviors which the society and the family conceive as useful, significant, and important (task-oriented and functional), it follows that their importance is generally recognized by the fully participating adult members of the society.

¹³ Like H₁ (p. 38), H₄ is not intended to be a research hypothesis. As the phrasing implies, this hypothesis concerns positional, not personal, identification; it refers to all types and levels; it pertains to the process rather than the product.

¹⁴ "Degree of functionality" refers to the degree to which a group or an individual carries out functions, whether basic societal or other functions.

We shall assume that the child gradually develops the ability to discriminate between task-relevant and task-irrelevant behaviors—i.e., to strip away conceptually the nonfunctional aspects of the parent's behavior and to identify with those aspects which are functional, or important. The general recognition of the importance of these activities implies that norms exist whereby the fully participating members of the family are expected to perform the related activities in accordance with certain standards. Learning the society's norms is a part of the process of becoming socialized. Thus it should follow that to the extent that the nuclear family performs basic societal functions, the child learns to assess his parents (his *Ms*) in terms of their task-oriented skills.¹⁵

Let us consider an example or two. The hunter who is a good marksman, the housewife who bakes a delectable cake—these are persons performing activities with creditable skill. When these activities are regarded as sufficiently important to warrant esteem, the child learns to value the parent because of the latter's skills. Perhaps the converse is more important for our purposes. When the corner butcher provides better meat at lower cost than the father can provide by his hunting and when the bakery sells a better and cheaper cake than the mother can make, then hunting and baking on the part of the parents are regarded as recreational rather than task-oriented activities, and the child is given no task-performance test in terms of which to assess his parents.

To the degree that the nuclear family does not perform basic societal functions, our postulates imply that other societal structures must be performing these functions. Functional analysis leads us to ask which structures are performing which functions. Two answers may be ventured—one pertaining directly to the father-husband as breadwinner, and the other to the children.

It may be argued that the modern corporation has in a sense super-

¹⁵ This analysis does not imply that the child will avoid identifying—consciously or unconsciously—with task-irrelevant behaviors of the parent, but merely that such identification is not a consequence of the process under consideration here.

seded the medieval church as a sort of all-purpose structure. More and more, the corporation is becoming a highly functional organization with political, socializing-educational, and religious functions as well as economic. W. H. Whyte, Jr. (1956) sees the corporation as demanding an ever-greater degree of commitment from employees in the administrative hierarchy. Here we can observe the usefulness of thinking of basic societal functions as individual-serving in addition to society-serving. Our functional interpretation of Whyte's observation would be that as functions shift from family to corporation, the consequent shift in rewards (individual-serving aspect) brings about a shift in the loyalties of men in management from wife and family to boss and company. The shift in functions can be seen in the increase in roles and role prescriptions which have been subsumed under Whyte's apt rubrics, "the organization man" and "the company wife."¹⁶

There has been a proliferation of groups whose functions bear more or less directly on children. As this implies, the roles whose occupants become the more or less obvious models for the child are those like the scoutmaster at the First Methodist Church and the football coach at Jonesville High rather than—or in addition to—the members of the nuclear family.

To the degree that the nuclear family does *not* perform basic societal functions, what happens to the child's orientation to his parents? Let us begin our answer by asking another question: What will be the nature of the activities which comprise the context of parent-child interaction to the extent that the family is functionless? To the extent that the family is functionless (non-task-oriented), it appears that family members assess each other (and thus children assess parents) on the basis of congeniality, affability, and other characteristics of personality rather than on the basis of task-oriented competence. To a considerable degree this statement is a deduction from the

¹⁶ This discussion parallels somewhat the formulation that American society is shifting from an entrepreneurial to a bureaucratic emphasis (cf. Miller and Swanson, 1958, Chap. 2). Large corporations and "big" government constitute multipurpose structures of this type.

premises of functional analysis, but Riecken and Homans (1954, pp. 789-90, 800, and the studies referred to there by Jennings, Homans, Gilchrist, and Schachter) cite evidence to support it. It would seem to follow that where core relationships are relatively absent, there must be much more reliance on affection to bind parent and child, as well, of course, as husband and wife. It would seem that most of the functionless interaction would be oriented to recreation and the expression of congeniality (including what Parsons [1955, pp. 16-17] calls the stabilization of personalities and what Thibaut and Kelley [1959] refer to as group-maintenance functions).

The foregoing suggests two other functional consequences for social groups in general and for families in particular:

1. Function is integrating; lack of it is disintegrating.
2. Function guides socialization; lack of it leaves socialization without direction.

"Integration" here denotes the cohesiveness of the group—i.e., "the extent to which structure and operations are capable of being maintained under stress" (Stogdill, 1959, p. 198). The reasoning is that when the group's activity is functional, the activity is perceived by the members as rewarding and important. This perception reinforces the continuing participation of the members and gives orientation to the way in which they train their young. Let us examine these points.

We have assumed that members of task-oriented groups tend to be aware of the significance and importance of their task-oriented behaviors. And by postulate the basic societal functions have benefits for individuals as well as for the society. In the context of the family, it is reasoned that the recognition that the maintenance of familial relationships is beneficial to the individual as well as to the group persuades parent and child to maintain their relationship even though they may dislike each other heartily. Thus the situation rewards the submergence of feelings of hostility and the creation of emotional distance between parent and child and even of an authoritarian familial structure as a safeguard against overt conflict and rupture of the relationship. In the functionless situation, on the other hand, no delay is imposed on the response to frustration and no basis is provided for

awe and reverence of child toward parent. With the elimination of the basis for awe and reverence, the parent-child relationship would seem to have to be one of love and intimacy, if the feelings are positive, or else of hatred and rejection, if they are negative. Thus function provides incentive for the members of a group to maintain the integrity of the group and for conflicts to be controlled and contained.

Since the relatively functionless family is characterized by few roles and core relationships, it follows that there are few norms on the basis of which members of such a family can interact. Hence they must improvise patterns of interaction. (We can rephrase this idea in terms of the values of democratic equalitarianism: in the relatively functionless family, the members are freed from having to carry out traditionally determined behaviors and are allowed freer expression of their personalities.) Of course, this development has had profound implications for marital relationships, but perhaps the most significant implication for the study of identification is that there is a lack of normatively supported roles for parents to teach their children.

It seems plausible that in a society with well-defined familial roles parents should know what kind of children their infants should develop into and also the "correct" method of infant and child care to effect this end. Our analysis suggests that the relative absence of functions and associated roles deprives the family of a definite objective with respect to child-rearing. It is consistent with this state of affairs that American middle-class parents should be amenable to all sorts of "expert" advice, from the aloof, antiseptic view of John B. Watson (1928) to the cloying maternalism of Margaret Ribble (1943) and back again. (On such swings see Brim, 1959; Escalona, 1949; Stendler, 1950; Sunley, 1955; Vincent, 1951; Wolfenstein, 1953.)

When productive activities, such as farming, are carried on by the family, the child may be expected to assume adultlike responsibilities at an early age. But as the productive function has been relinquished by the middle-class American family, childhood has come to be regarded as a period of carefree play, and the phrase "child labor" has taken on connotations of an exploitively cruel and unenlightened past.

Since a relatively functionless family has few roles, it follows that such a family has little in the way of roles to teach its young. It is consistent with this formulation, then, that we find the modern American middle-class family not training its young for any occupations (since occupations are no longer "hereditary")—indeed, scarcely feeling free to suggest suitable occupations, and conversely struggling to encourage in their children "skills" of adjustment, self-expression, and integration with their peers. We find them not even venturing to train their girls for the roles of wife and mother, and we encounter the cultural anomaly of college and high-school courses in marriage and family life.

This state of affairs probably contributes to a feeling on the part of the child that he is roleless. Of course, the fact that the family is relatively functionless makes the child feel that he is useless. This may be some of the background of the adolescent's struggle for identification which Erikson (1950) believes he can see. Perhaps this is related to the American practice of shielding youngsters from their parents' problems. For this reason, Francis Hsu (1953) believes, American school children are quite naive and insecure while their Chinese counterparts are "already little old rogues with a fairly realistic view of men and things" (p. 83).

We can now summarize and extend the implication of functional analysis for the study of identification. Core relationships, it will be recalled, tend to be cast in superordinate-subordinate terms. One implication of being a superordinate in a relationship is that one has some power over the subordinate. In a core relationship the superordinate can presumably permit or deny the subordinate the enjoyment of some portion of the reward involved in the corresponding function. If we denote the superordinate as *A* and the subordinate as *B*, we have the following paradigm:

1. The core relationship involves a function which eventuates in resources which, if made accessible to the individual, can become importantly rewarding for approved behavior.
2. The presence of the resources constitutes an incentive to mem-

bers of a social group to participate and to continue their participation. Hence functionality is an integrating factor (Thibaut and Kelley, 1959).

3. In part the degree of A 's superordination over B is determined by A 's power to permit B to obtain or to deny B the resources; A 's power over B is mitigated to the extent that B has the opportunity to escape from A 's field and to obtain the resources elsewhere.

4. In part the degree of A 's superordination over B is determined by the degree to which A exercises his power.

5. The presence of function(s) bears on the nature of the interaction between A and B and increases the probability that A will exercise his power over B . Hence the presence of function increases the intensity and structure of A 's influence over B .

6. It is possible for a group to be relatively nonfunctional and still have resources which can be used as rewards. Here both the intensity and structure of A 's influence on B are problematic.

The concept of the "idle rich" illustrates the idea in statement 6, which has not been introduced previously. Let us assume a family presided over by a wealthy dowager whose fortune was built by a long-dead ancestor. The dowager has the resources to influence the behavior of her heirs, but in the present the family may not be highly functional. What, then, is the distinction between the functional and the nonfunctional relationship when in each A has control over some resource desired by B ? A functional relationship is task-oriented, and there is a presumption that A 's control over B will be task-related, as, for example, the control of the foreman over the worker. A nonfunctional relationship implies the absence of a task-orientation, with the further implication that the control of A over the behavior of B can be capricious. Let us invoke the image of the expectant heir dancing to the quaintly eccentric tunes called by the doddering dowager.

Statement 4 presents the prospect of translating this paradigm of a functional sociology into psychological behavior theory and five possible schedules of reinforcement, as follows:

- a. A always (unconditionally) makes resources available to B .

b. *A* uses resources for total or nearly total reinforcement—i.e., *A* gives *B* resources when *A* approves *B*'s behavior and withholds when he disapproves.

c. *A* uses partial reinforcement.

d. *A* allows *B* random access to resources (and thus confuses rather than reinforces).

e. *A* always denies *B* access to the resources.

From the functional analysis it would appear that procedure *a*, *d*, or *e* might be followed in a minimally functional situation (cf. Ribble, 1943), whereas *b* or *c* would appear to be more likely for a highly functional situation.

Now that the paradigm has related our major concepts to one another—function, reward, use of reward (or control of resources), and influence (including identification)—we are able to formulate some additional hypotheses:

H₅

The more functional the family, the greater will be the identification of the child with each parent.¹⁷

H₆

The more functional the parent, the greater will be the identification of the offspring with that parent.

H₇

To the extent that one parent is more functional than the other, the offspring will tend to identify with the more functional parent.

H₈

The more functional the family, the more formal will be the relationships between parents and children.

¹⁷ Again, this is an orienting rather than a research hypothesis.

H₉

The more functional the family, the more children will be socialized into occupational roles within the family; conversely, the less functional the family, relatively speaking, the more children will be socialized into recreational roles within the family.¹⁸

The foregoing analysis has suggested a host of other hypotheses. For example, with level of function held constant, identification should be positively correlated with level of resources¹⁹; with level of resources constant, identification should be positively correlated with degree of functionality. The elucidation of statement 4 of the paradigm into schedules of reinforcement may be regarded as another set of hypotheses. Other hypotheses could be developed relating size of structure to degree of functionality, degree of functionality to role differentiation, role differentiation to authoritarianism, etc.

QUALIFICATIONS ON THE UTILITY OF BASIC SOCIETAL FUNCTIONS FOR THE STUDY OF IDENTIFICATION

The utility of the concept of basic societal function, we have maintained, is that it directs our attention to important activities which eventuate in some resource and that *I*, realizing the importance of the resource, will modify his behavior so as to acquire the resource, which thereby becomes a reward. Thus functions, by this reasoning, lead us to rewards. Deductively this is true, but practically it must be qualified in two important respects:

1. Within a simple society and within each stratum of a complex society, conditions of life tend to be homogeneous; hence families

¹⁸ The functions referred to in the antecedent condition of this hypothesis exclude the socializing-educational function, for to include it makes the hypothesis tautological to the extent that the terms "socialization" and "identification" are equivalent. On this point see pp. 22-25 above.

¹⁹ Cf. H₁₀, p. 59.

tend to be like one another with respect to the level of need involved in each of the basic societal functions and also with respect to the manner of meeting that need. To the extent that this is so, it follows that within simple societies and the strata of complex societies there will be little variation with respect to the basic societal functions and hence that within such relatively homogeneous social groupings this concept will have relatively little explanatory power with respect to any phenomenon, including identification.

2. To the extent that societies are efficient and affluent, it appears that their economic, political, and other structures operate inconspicuously and are taken more or less for granted. Again let us recall that we tend to become aware of the air we breathe only when someone calls it to our attention or when it is scarce. To push the matter further, a child would presumably be highly sensitive to the economic function in a situation where goods were in short supply, either absolutely (e.g., if he should be constantly hungry) or relatively (e.g., if he should be aware that other children had more luxurious toys than did he). Similarly, he would be expected to become sensitive to political or religious need under conditions of absolute or relative deprivation with respect to their respective resources—freedom from chaos and from anxiety.

Finally, it seems that the individual-serving aspect of the replacement (familial) function—a sense of intergenerational continuity—is much more likely to be experienced as a reward by adults than by children. To the extent that the above two qualifications apply in any given research problem, they imply that the concept of basic societal function has utility for the study of identification mainly when used intersocietally or among strata of a complex society. These qualifications do not necessarily apply to other functions, and we now turn our attention to the parental functions—nurturance and control.

5

Intervening variables: Nurturance and control

DERIVED FUNCTIONS OF THE FAMILY

In the preceding chapter, we have reasoned that the family's opportunity to orient and control the behavior of youngsters will increase the more the basic societal functions are performed within the family. To complete our conceptual analysis of the resources available to the family and hence of the available means for influencing the behavior of children, we introduce another set of functions. These functions are derived from the structure and basic societal function of the family. As we shall see, there is a substantial body of literature on two of the four functions we shall discuss—nurturance and control—in which these functions are presented as psychological variables. In our conceptual scheme, they are variables which intervene between the independent variables of societal and familial structure and function and the dependent variable of the offspring's identification. Occasionally the literature traces the linkage to our independent variables—Whiting and Child, 1953; Brim, 1958; and Kohn, 1959a,

1959b, are notable examples—but much more remains to be done.¹

Because we have chosen to study identification in the context of the family, we are interested in functions which are especially relevant to familial interaction. Four such functions are postulated. The first, emotional gratification, is a corollary of the family's structure. The other three functions are consequences of the family's basic societal function of replacement. These we call the position-conferring function and the parental functions of nurturance and control.

The function of *emotional gratification* involves a relationship of some intimacy arising from the apparent fact that most people in most societies have need of one or more people with whom to share hopes and fears, triumphs and sorrows. In the subculture of the American middle class, the family is designated as the setting *par excellence* for obtaining emotional gratification (Gurin *et al.*, 1960), but it should be noted that with respect to this function there is not a normatively defined set of roles. That is, in any given family one or another member may develop into the consoler, the encourager, etc. Parsons and Bales (1955) speak of this as the expressive role. They believe that it is usual for small groups, including the family, to develop what they call an expressive leader and for the wife-mother to assume this role in the nuclear family. But in the American middle-class family there does not appear to be any institutionalized role of emotional gratifier, and hence in this setting it does not seem correct to tie the function of emotional gratification to any one familial position.

Since the family provides each child born or adopted into it with a position in the social structure, and since the child is thereby integrated into the society, we speak of the family as having a *position-conferring* function. The mere fact of being born into one family rather than into another determines a number of categories in which

¹ With respect to any dependent variable, what is viewed as an independent variable and what as intervening are contingent, in part at least, on the amount of the process under consideration. For example, some studies of child development use maternal nurturance as an independent variable whereas other studies view maternal nurturance as influenced by familial structure and hence as an intervening variable.

the child will have more or less immediate membership: ethnic group, religious group, socioeconomic stratum, etc. These memberships, which constitute elements in the newborn child's societal position, are ascribed; when they are viewed invidiously, they are spoken of as ascribed statuses. Since these elements in the child's position are ascribed, it follows that he need not interact with anyone or undertake any task to obtain this position. But the fact that no interaction is required leads to the conclusion that position-conferring is a function which involves neither roles nor a relationship. Perhaps it is more accurate to speak of a relationship between a conferring father and a conferred-upon child,² and then to characterize the situation as a function involving a relationship but no interaction—i.e., an interactionless relationship. To be sure, an erstwhile lower-middle-class father may have worked hard and long to confer upon his child an upper-middle-class status, but the action is not in the familial arena, and ordinarily it takes place outside the child's range of vision.

Position-conferring integrates the conferree with his society. There is another kind of integrating procedure which does involve activity. If a father intercedes with a business associate to find his son a job or if a mother gives parties and invites young people into her home for the purpose of having her daughter meet eligible young men, these are activities which facilitate the integration of the offspring respectively into the occupational structure and into marriage. In this kind of integrating, the desired outcome of which is a new economic or familial position, there is manifest activity on the part of the parent and there is ordinarily an expectation of a response of the "follow-up" variety on the part of the offspring, but there may be little or no interaction between the parent and the offspring with respect to the function. Again we have a nearly interactionless relationship between conferrer and conferree.

² If, for purposes of simplicity, we assume that the socioeconomic status of the family is determined solely by the occupational activity of the husband-father and that the behavior of other members of the family has no bearing on the matter, then position-conferring (and in this example we may also call it status-conferring) involves the relationship conferrer-conferree, and the wife is a conferree along with the children.

The proposition that families at high status levels exert more influence over the behavior of their offspring than do lower-status families runs through much of the literature but has nowhere been put to systematic test. When we notice the class-differential significance of severe familial sanctions—being disowned and disinherited—we can see immediately that the offspring of an upper-status family has much more to lose than does the offspring of a lower-status family. In a variety of ways the upper-status family generally has command over a greater supply of resources, tangible (e.g., toys) and intangible (e.g., prestige), than the lower-status family. Ergo:

H_{10}

Offspring in families of upper status will tend to show stronger identifications (of all types, kinds, and levels) with family members than will offspring in families of lower status.

Nurturance refers to behavior on the part of the parent (or person who is enacting the parental role) which results in providing food for the child when he is hungry, warmth when the child is cold, dry clothing when he is wet, a comforting hug when he is frightened, etc. In general it seems likely that nurturing is received by the child as gratifying. Of course the parent may see his or her own behavior as nurturing whereas the child responds in a manner suggesting a different construction of the parent's behavior. For example, when the parent orders the child to eat, the parent may view his own behavior as nurturing whereas the child sees it as controlling and punishing. Let us think of reward as nurturance which is given or withheld contingent upon the parent's approval or disapproval of the child's behavior. More briefly, reward may be thought of as contingent nurturance or conditional love.

Controlling refers to behavior which protects the child from an immediate hazard or trains him to behave in some desired manner. Controlling may make use of both punishment (which includes deprivation) and reward (which is included in gratification and nurtur-

ing). If the parent follows standard principles of behavior theory, it would seem that the parental functions of nurturance and control could be utilized to direct the child's behavior. Again, it is possible that the parent and child may interpret the parent's behavior differently. Let us imagine that a peer has challenged a child to do something the child is afraid to do (jump across a creek, climb a high tree, etc.), and the parent, happening by at the time, forbids the child to do it. This might be seen by the parent as controlling and by the child as nurturing behavior.

The Freudian emphasis on the erogenous zones is no doubt responsible in part for the voluminous literature on nurturing and controlling. The next few sections are designed to communicate the tenor of this literature, which is too vast to be presented comprehensively. First we shall consider literature bearing on each of these parental functions separately and then we shall consider them together. Finally we shall try to fit the bits and pieces into a meaningful mosaic of relevant propositions. In the sections to follow let us note a seeming isomorphism, respectively, between the postulated parental functions of nurturance and control and the types of identification developed by Freud—anaclitic and aggressive. In the parlance of the present formulation, anaclitic identification is *I*'s reciprocal identification with *M* along the dimension of nurturance. Aggressive identification is *I*'s identification with *M* along the dimension of control; it may be similar, reciprocal, or sometimes, as in the case of the authoritarian personality, both. Aggressive identification may also be opposite, as with the exceptionally gentle and peace-loving person.³

³ Schaefer (1959, 1960) has shown that numerous studies have converged on the conclusion that nurturance and control (which he calls "love-hostility" and "autonomy-control," respectively) are the principal dimensions of maternal behavior. In a more recent study, Schaefer (1961) has factor-analyzed children's responses to 26 scales designed to measure various aspects of nurturance and control of fathers and mothers and has found a single nurturance factor and several control factors, "including factors interpreted as psychological control and as physical control of overt behavior." Bales and Couch (1960) and Couch (1960) have reported several factor analyses of data gathered in accordance with the conceptual scheme of Leary (1957) and have obtained evidence to support Leary's assertion that his 16-variable scheme can be reduced to the two variables love-hostility and dominance-submission or, as Bales and

PARENTAL NURTURANCE AND RECIPROCAL (ANACLITIC) IDENTIFICATION

The central question of this section concerns the relation between the kinds and amounts of nurturance and the conditions under which it is given to the child, on the one hand, and the consequent, or at least later, degree of dependence or independence shown by the child, on the other. With its concept of erogenous zones, the Freudian literature makes the point that sucking and, subsequently, biting are autonomous sources of gratification aside from their nutritional significance. This has been construed to mean that the infant's gratification and/or deprivation in feeding and weaning should have a generalized consequence with respect to his later character structure and hence with respect to the extensive repertoire of responses as the infant matures into child and adult. Because it has been presumed that the consequences of the feeding-weaning sequence are long lasting, the sequence and its developmental significance have been widely discussed, if not widely studied. Thus some writers (notably Ribble, 1943), have insisted that the child should be allowed as much oral gratification as he seeks and in particular that he should not be weaned early or harshly. Studies to be considered pertain to (1) oral gratification, both animal and human; (2) a molar conception of nurturance, again with respect to humans and animals; and (3) nurturance in the years after infancy.

Hunt *et al.* (1947) report that rats which have been frustrated in feeding during their infancy show hoarding behavior as adults as contrasted with rats which were not deprived in infancy. D. M. Levy (1934) found that dogs whose sucking was interfered with engaged in non-nutritional sucking. A well-controlled study to determine the consequence of not rewarding the sucking activity of human infants (through feeding by cup) showed generally nonsignificant results except that infants who sucked at the breast developed a stronger sucking reflex than did those who either sucked bottles or were fed by cup

Couch call them, interpersonal affect and interpersonal dominance, respectively. Nurturance and control are substantially the dimensions of complementariness hypothesized by Winch (1958) in the context of mate-selection.

(H. V. Davis *et al.*, 1940). In another study, Sears and Wise (1950) interpret their findings as supporting a hypothesis of Freud that "securing food by sucking increases the erotogeneity of the mouth (increases oral drive)." Further, although they see no reason to regard such an outcome as "seriously harmful," they find that late weaning causes more frustration than does early weaning. (Cf. also Sears, Maccoby, and Levin, 1957.) Sewell and Mussen (1952) found virtually no significant relationships between the feeding and weaning processes and later oral symptoms, behavior problems, and general adjustment. To this point it would appear that the effects of oral deprivation are better documented for animals than for humans.

Now let us consider some studies which deal with nurturance on a molar (as contrasted with specifically oral) level. Margaret Ribble has sought to link theoretically the antecedent condition of maternal nurturance and the consequent condition of child's character structure through an explanation which might be called psychosomatic or, perhaps more accurately, physiopsychological. The maternal behavior of cuddling, caressing, and supporting the infant, she believes, results in organic benefits to the infant through stimulating his circulation, digestion, etc. Organic functioning, in turn, determines the possibility of a healthy personality (Ribble, 1943). Another attempt to link maternal behavior and infant response has been made by Louisa P. Howe (1955), who, following G. H. Mead, derives two types of identification from four types of communication, the first of which is relevant to the present discussion. During this first stage she suggests that the communication between infant and mother is empathic or unconscious; if the mother feels tension, the baby may start to cry without awareness of what provoked the state of tension in the mother.⁴ The mother, moreover, may be unaware that she has conveyed any such feeling to the child. Such communication is unintended, unthinking, and automatic. The corresponding identification, Howe continues, is between one who needs, receives, and is passive, and one who satisfies, gives, and is active.

⁴ Cf. Sullivan's concept of empathy, p. 27 above.

René Spitz (1945, 1946a, 1946b, 1949) studied a group of human infants left in a foundling home with virtually no opportunity for what he called "emotional interchange." According to his account, these "emotionally starved children never learned to speak, to walk, to feed themselves," but tended to become "human wrecks who behaved either in the manner of agitated or of apathetic idiots," a syndrome which in infants Spitz designated "anaclitic depression" and in children "hospitalism." Goldfarb (1945) studied infant deprivation through comparing children whose major life experience has been in institutions with those who have spent most of their lives in foster homes. At the time of the study the children ranged in age from 3 to 12 years. Goldfarb regards the institutional experience as providing an atmosphere of deprivation, "an extreme meagerness of stimulation." He concludes that infant deprivation results in the child's becoming passive and emotionally apathetic. Further evidence for this "institutionalization symptomatology" is reported by Lowrey (1940) in another study of foundling-home children. "All the children present certain symptoms of inadequate personality development, chiefly related to an inability to give and receive affection, in other words, inability to relate to self and others" (p. 578). However, Lowrey found that among children placed in the institution for short periods after the age of 2, this isolated type of personality did not always develop. These studies strongly suggest that early deprivation and the absence of stimulation lead to the apathetic, limp, supine, immobile, expressionless kind of individual described by Kingsley Davis (1940, 1947) as a case of "extreme social isolation."

Both outside and within psychoanalytic circles, Ribble's writings have stirred up considerable criticism. One of her critics declares that empirical evidence does not justify her conclusions (Pinneau, 1950), and another asserts that whereas her conclusions seem acceptable, her physiological theory seems naive (Kubie, 1945). George G. Thompson (1959) questions the hypothesis about the dire effects of "minimum mothering," citing three studies which he interprets as landing blows against the Ribble-Spitz hypothesis (Dennis and Najarian, 1957; Hopper and Pinneau, 1957; and Rabin, 1957).

After reviewing a number of studies, Bowlby (1952) concludes that "when deprived of maternal care, the child's development is almost always retarded—physically, intellectually, and socially—and . . . symptoms of physical and mental illness may appear" (p. 15). Moreover, he considers the question of the time and conditions under which deprivation is most crucial to the child's development:

At what age, it may be asked, does the child cease to be vulnerable to a lack of maternal care? No doubt vulnerability diminishes slowly and, perhaps, asymptotically. All who have studied the matter would agree that vulnerability between 3 and 5 is still serious, though much less so than earlier [p. 26].

He notes that among slightly older children, the ability to tolerate separation from the mother depends upon the security of the child's earliest relationship with her. These findings, which support the general proposition that early contact with a mother-figure (preferably only one person) is a necessary precondition for normal development, direct us to the question of the ways in which maternal contact exercises its potent influence.

Harlow's studies with rhesus monkeys are probably the most intriguing ever undertaken on the nature and determinants of the love and affect of the infant for the mother. He constructed a series of inanimate "mothers" for his monkeys. Each had a light bulb to constitute a source of warmth. Some "mothers" were constructed from wire frames; others began as blocks of wood and were covered with sponge rubber and terry cloth. Harlow equipped some of them with lactation. In his words:

We produced a perfectly proportioned, streamlined body, stripped of unnecessary bulges and appendages. Redundancy in the surrogate mother's system was avoided by reducing the number of breasts from two to one and lacing this unibreast in an upper-thoracic, sagittal position, thus maximizing the natural and known perceptual-motor capabilities of the infant operator [1958, pp. 675-76].

Harlow reports that contact comfort is a variable of great importance in the development of affectional responses, whereas lactation is a

variable of little importance (p. 676). He concludes that the primary function of nursing is to ensure frequent body contact with the mother. In a subsequent account relating surrogate-reared to mother-reared monkeys (Palmer, 1961), it is reported that the surrogate-reared were more apathetic and intrapunitive than the mother-reared, that they did not develop normal affectional relationships with other monkeys, and that their sex lives were adversely affected—the males were ineffectual and the females rarely became pregnant. If we grant the importance of the contact variable, we begin to understand how the institutional environment—where nutritional-physical needs are met but affectionate interaction and close contact are lacking—produces its pathetic consequences.

Next we turn to some studies which have considered dependent and theoretically related needs of the (usually post-infantile) child as consequences of variation (within normal limits) of maternal nurturance. If the child reacts to his need and frustration in a dependent manner (e.g., by crying) and the dependent reaction is rewarded, then it follows that the child should learn to respond to his needs in a dependent manner. From this point, Sears *et al.* (1953) have reasoned that a child who experiences a large number of frustrations is likely to manifest a relatively high number of dependent reactions. They found that severe frustrations in nursing and weaning were positively correlated with high dependency during preschool years. The results of two other studies, one of which was experimental, corroborate this finding of a positive relationship between frustration and dependency behavior. Antonovsky (1959), following the general approach of Sears *et al.*, found that help-seeking responses (an index of dependency) of preschool children as reported by mothers were positively related to maternal demands, restrictiveness, and punishment and negatively related to the degree of maternal affectional contact. Beller (1959) found that the higher a child's initial dependency, the greater the increase in his dependent behavior under conditions of experimentally induced stressful dependency (reduced availability of adults).

Sears *et al.* (1953) also report findings about the relationship between frustration and inconsistent gratification, on the one hand, and increased dependency in children, on the other. They reason that the

most dependent children are those whose mothers openly express their affection for the child but repeatedly threaten the affectional bond by withholding love as a means of discipline. An experimental study designed to analyze the relationship between nurturance, the withdrawal of nurturance, and dependent needs of children reports results consistent with Sears's findings (Hartup, 1958).

Sears, Maccoby, and Levin (1957) report that maternal warmth has pervasive effects on the child. The opposite of warmth, or "maternal coldness," they found to be correlated with "the development of feeding problems and persistent bed-wetting . . . high aggression . . . emotional upset during severe toilet training . . . and . . . slowing of conscience development" (p. 483). But they discovered that maternal warmth was not correlated with the child's dependency (p. 168).

Up to this point our emphasis has been on the dependent needs of the infant and preschool child and the correlates of variation in maternal nurturance. With respect to the male child, there seems to be a conviction in many societies that dependence on the mother should be greatly reduced or completely terminated somewhere between the ages of 6 and 10 years in order for the boy to develop an adequately masculine personality and to be able to fulfill the prescriptions of male roles. In some settings there is institutional provision for separating the mother and son. Sending the boy to boarding school is such an arrangement in certain segments of American and English societies. Freud believed that normally identification with the father would occur somewhere around the boy's fifth or sixth birthday as the final stage in the resolution of the Oedipus complex. This consideration suggests the question as to what relation, if any, obtains between paternal nurturance and identification with father. One of the more eloquent statements on this point comes from Lois W. Hoffman:

From our data it would appear that a mother's love and attention makes a boy feel warm and cozy but a father's equips him to face the world. For example, both lead to a feeling of being loved and accepted, but a positive father relationship is associated with a high degree of self-confidence in one's own abilities while a positive relationship with the mother is associated with a low degree of self-confidence [Hoffman, 1960, pp. 9-10].

Payne and Mussen (1956) report a tendency toward greater identification with the father on the part of boys who see their father as more rather than less affectionate and rewarding. Identification was measured by parent-child similarity on the California Psychological Inventory; affection and reward, by analysis of the boy's responses to incomplete stories about parent-son relationships. In two later studies by Mussen and Distler (1959, 1960), father's warmth and rewardingness were again found to be associated with identification with him. Somewhat related is a study of Leiderman (1957), who reports that among fourth-grade boys those who had warm relationships with their fathers tended to have high acceptance among their peers; the direction of causation remains undetermined, however.

PARENTAL CONTROL AND AGGRESSIVE (SIMILAR AND RECIPROCAL) IDENTIFICATION

The basic fact from which we start is that children must be subjected to some control, if only in the interest of their own safety. From their study of Midwestern mothers and children, Sears *et al.* (1953) report their impression that "even from the child's earliest days of life, the most compulsively permissive and responsive parent finds it totally impossible to avoid frustrating [the child] and . . . as time goes on, the socialization process inevitably makes use of some degree of punishment" (p. 180). Moreover, Whiting (1959) concludes from his cross-cultural studies that reward alone is not adequate to "maintain a complex social system." Punishment must also be used: "Tabus and negative sanctions oppose the desire for immediate gratification of the members of any society and seem to be, therefore, a requirement for social living" (p. 174).

As Mussen and Conger (1956) point out, toilet-training constitutes one of the first of "many conformity demands that must be met in the process of growing up and becoming socialized" (p. 193). Sears *et al.* (1953) observe that parent-child interaction in feeding differs in an important way psychologically from the interaction in toilet-training; in feeding the infant has a need, whereas the child has "no initial desire

to use the potty." Perhaps a more general way of phrasing the point is to say that whereas the child's behavior in the nurturing function involves what is defined as a right and the performance of the function is intrinsically rewarding, in the controlling function his behavior involves an obligation and usually the only reward is approval for having fulfilled the obligation. This is an instance of what M. L. Hoffman (1960) calls the problem of "compelling unmotivated behavior in another person." Despite the strong beliefs among Freudians that there is some correlation between toilet-training practices and subsequent character structure, however, the research literature provides little corroboration (Orlansky, 1949).

The conditions and consequences of discipline have been studied in many researches. The topics include the severity of discipline and the aggressiveness of the child's behavior; consequences of the use of physical vs. psychological discipline, of whether the discipline is administered by father or by mother, and of whether the child is male or female; and variation in the kinds of behavior disciplined.

Many of the studies bearing on the harshness of discipline and the affective response of the children have used retrospective data. The results do not point to a clear-cut conclusion. According to 70 college women's answers to questions about their parents' disciplinary techniques as they retrospectively perceived them, positive types of parental discipline (rated positive when *S* stated she would discipline her own child in the same way) were associated with favorable attitudes toward parents. Among children of dominant and over-protective parents, those disciplined by positive methods displaced aggression to persons other than parents more than did those disciplined by negative methods (Nakamura, 1959). Harvard students who perceived their parents as strict disciplinarians and controllers tended to be highly autocratic in their interpersonal relations. Parental warmth and affection were significantly associated with the *S*'s attitudes toward and desire for warm, personal relations (Schutz, 1958). In response to TAT-like pictures of adult-child relations, extremely aggressive boys told more stories of hostile parent-child interactions and manifested relatively less dependence upon parents than

did nonaggressive boys (Kagan, 1958b). Similarly, Bandura and Walters (1959) found that parents of aggressive boys were more rejecting and punitive than parents of control boys. On the other hand, Mussen and Kagan (1958) found that extreme conformists (college subjects in an experimental situation of the Asch type) tended to perceive their parents as harsh, punitive, restrictive, and rejecting. One further finding which seems somewhat inconsistent with some of those presented has been turned up by Rokeach (1960) in his study of belief systems. He reports that college subjects who score high on a scale of dogmatism exceed those who score low in dogmatism in reporting thumbsucking, nailbiting, and temper tantrums in childhood, and report less influence by extrafamilial persons and high degree of glorification of parents since childhood. Rokeach concludes that these findings "suggest the hypothesis that when ambivalence toward parents is not permitted expression it leads both to anxiety and to a narrowing of possibilities for identification with persons outside the family" (p. 365).

Concerning the differential effects of physical vs. psychological punishment, LeVine (1958) reports that among the Gusii, an African tribe, parents use physical rather than love-oriented techniques of punishment, and childhood dependency is allowed to continue to a late age. According to LeVine, this sort of child-rearing regimen should eventuate in a lack of superego among adults, and such a lack was observed. Allinsmith and Greening (1955) found that guilt about anger was greater among boys whose mothers used psychological punishment than among boys whose mothers used physical punishment.

With respect to the sex of the disciplining parent, Kagan (1956) has investigated children's perceptions of their parents. Both girls and boys stated that fathers were less friendly and more dominant, punitive, and threatening than mothers. Kagan reports that older children are more likely than younger children to view the parent of the same sex as the more dominant and punitive. Henry (1957) found that the oldest child tended to perceive the father as the principal disciplinarian whereas the youngest tended to perceive the mother in that role. According to Droppleman and Schaefer (1961), such perceptions tend

to be sex-linked; girls see both parents as more nurturant and less rejecting than do boys.

Although her paper does not contain the supporting data, Lois W. Hoffman (1960) reports a study of over four hundred boys and girls in the third through the sixth grades from which she concludes that if it is the father who primarily carries out the controlling function, the children will probably become "assertive and aggressive rather than repressed and intrapunitive because of the kinds of techniques fathers are more likely to use" (p. 8). Jackson (1956) presented a group of adults with a series of hypothetical parent-child problems and classified the responses to indicate sex differences between the reactions of mothers and fathers. The suggestions of mothers were found to be more coercive than those of fathers and to vacillate more between mild and severe methods. The author interprets this vacillation as a reflection of the conflicts involved in playing the role of mother. These conflicts result from contradictory role prescriptions of the mother as the chief source of nurturance and as the parent more responsible for effective socialization. Consistent with the foregoing is a conclusion of Sears *et al.* (1957) that "Regardless of SES or education, the husbands were inclined to believe that their wives were not strict enough with the children, while the wives tended to believe that their husbands were too strict" (p. 432).

Hess and Handel (1956) investigated the patterns of aggressive behavior transmitted from parent to child in 10 middle-class families. They found that the mother transmitted more of her individual features of aggressive behavior than did the father. Sons tended to learn cultural sex-typed patterns of aggression to a greater extent and at an earlier age than did daughters. Bandura and Walters (1959) compared interparental involvement in the disciplining of aggressive and control boys and concluded that

... aggressive boys had experienced fathers who were harsh and punitive in their handling of their sons and mothers who placed fewer limits on their behavior and were somewhat inconsistent and vacillating. While the fathers' behavior provided the boys with predominantly aggressive and punitive models for imitation, their mothers' tendency to make re-

latively few demands and to overlook noncompliance may have fostered the development of aggressive, defiant patterns of behavior [p. 246].

Levin and Sears (1956) obtained data from interviews with mothers to test the hypothesis that the frequency of five-year-old children's aggression is in part a function of the children's identification with aggressive role models. They found the highest frequency of aggression among boys who were highly identified and who had the distinctive cues for male aggressiveness provided by being punished by their fathers. For girls also, identification was related to high aggression when it was associated with severe punishment by the mother—i.e., when the girl was identified with an aggressive role model.

King and Henry (1955) report that when both parents are seen as strict, the father is likely to be the dominant parent. In a subsequent study, Henry (1956) reported that male subjects who gave self-blaming (rather than other-blaming) responses were more likely to perceive their mothers as the principal disciplinarians than subjects giving other responses. An earlier study (Funkenstein *et al.*, 1953) showed that subjects responding to aggression with outwardly directed anger registered a different type of cardiovascular reaction from that evidenced by subjects who directed their anger inward. Henry (1956) has summarized these points as follows:

Psychophysiological, attitudinal, and behavioral data indicate that the outward discharge of anger is associated with perception of father as principal disciplinarian, while intropunitiveness is associated with perception of mother as principal disciplinarian [p. 73].

It should be emphasized that the subjects in Henry's earlier studies were males.

On the topic of differences in discipline administered to boys and girls, Sears *et al.* (1957) studied the reports of 379 mothers in two suburbs of a large New England metropolis. They found that there were more girls than boys who virtually never received physical punishment. The authors explain, however, that the "sex difference in the amount of spanking occurred only among the relatively non-

aggressive children: among aggressive children, girls were spanked as often as boys" (p. 405). Reporting findings from a pilot study using predominantly middle-class adolescent subjects, Bronfenbrenner (1961a, 1961b) found a tendency for parents to be firmer, more active, and more demanding with children of the same sex and more lenient and indulgent with children of the opposite sex. This pattern was more noticeable in the lower middle class than in the upper middle class, where parents were found to have a similar effect on offspring irrespective of sex of parent or child.

Bronfenbrenner further reports (1961b), on the basis of his and others' studies, that girls are more likely than boys to be subjected to "love-oriented" disciplinary techniques. These parental techniques, he says, are effective in developing socially approved conduct and internalized controls for behavior. But, he notes,

a rather different pattern of child rearing is emphasized for boys . . . in bringing up sons parents are more likely to use physical punishment, to be permissive of and even encourage aggressiveness, to place less emphasis on conformity, and to foster independence and achievement. . . . Such findings . . . indicate that the differential treatment of the two sexes reflects in part a difference in goals. With sons, socialization seems to focus primarily on directing and constraining the boys' impact on the environment. With daughters, the aim is rather to protect the girls from the impact of the environment. The boy is being prepared to mold his world, the girl to be molded by it [pp. 259-60].

Kohn (1959b) finds that the middle class and the working class differ with respect to the ends toward which discipline is oriented. Middle-class parents tend to focus on the intent of the child's behavior and to reward the child for manifestations of internalized control. Working-class parents tend to focus on the immediate consequences of the behavior, and their discipline is oriented more to the behavior itself than to the child's intent. McKee and Leader (1955) found aggression among three- and four-year-olds to be higher in children of lower socioeconomic background.

Sears and his associates (1957) declare that punishment "is in-

effectual over the long term as a technique for eliminating the kind of behavior toward which it is directed" (p. 484), for punishment, they say, leaves the child in a quandary: "he learns . . . what *not* to do, but not what *to* do" (p. 359). Perhaps these authors have a somewhat narrow conception of what constitutes punishment. In any case, Bronfenbrenner (1958b) takes a different view in his summary of class differences in child-rearing procedures. When they do punish, he finds, middle-class families

reason with the youngster, isolate him, appeal to guilt, show disappointment—in short, convey in a variety of ways, on the one hand, the kind of behavior that is expected of the child; on the other, the realization that transgression means the interruption of a mutually valued relationship [p. 419].

And Sears *et al.* (1957) observe that reward is an important component of control: "Much of the maternal control and teaching in child rearing is accomplished by manipulating the child's wants" (p. 464).

JOINT CONSEQUENCES OF NURTURANCE AND CONTROL FOR IDENTIFICATION

The last two sections have been devoted, respectively, to studies about nurturance and control and their implications for identification, especially for the related types of identification called anaclitic and aggressive. In this section we shall consider studies that have taken account of variation in both of these functions.

First let us note a study that has considered continuity in maternal nurturance and maternal control. Schaefer and Bayley (1960) have assessed the consistency of behavior of 31 mothers studied in the Berkeley Growth Study (Jones and Bayley, 1941) by correlating observational data collected during the first three years of the child's life with data from interviews with the mothers when the children were 9 to 14 years of age. With respect to maternal nurturance (which they call love-hostility), they find consistency ($r = +.68$). With respect to

control, however, the correlation was only $+ .26$, which they interpret as inconclusive. In another paper (Bayley and Schaefer, 1960a) they comment:

If these two correlations are true descriptions of degrees of maternal consistency over time, then we may say that affectional attitudes tend to be stable, but that factors in the age of the child, such as his needs for freedom and his abilities to exercise autonomy, together with the mother's awareness of these factors, appear to operate to change the mother in the degree of control she exercises [pp. 157-58].

Although their results on children's behaviors are not clear-cut and consistent, it appears that, with some exceptions, those boys and girls who have loving and autonomy-granting mothers tend from infancy to adolescence to be friendly and cooperative.⁵

D. M. Levy (1943) has investigated what he calls maternal overprotection. This involves an excess in one of the two parental functions: nurturing or controlling. Having studied sons of such mothers in a child-guidance clinic, Levy concludes: "The behavior problems of the children are consistently rebellious and aggressive in indulgent overprotection, submissive and dependent in dominating overprotection" (p. 107).

Myers and Roberts (1959) have related cultural variables to personality variables in their study of the influence of social class upon the development of mental illness. These authors view the family of the mentally disturbed patient as an important focal point for investigation into the etiology of such disturbances. They draw heavily upon identification theory, defining identification as "the individual's desire to establish or maintain a satisfying, self-defining relationship to another

⁵ To the somewhat related question of the consistency of behaviors of offspring, Kagan and Moss (1960) find that for females the correlation between passive and dependent behaviors at the 6- to 10-year-old range and in adulthood is significantly positive and thus is evidence for stability, but that for males the correlation is too low to be significant. They add the interpretive comment: "The social acceptance of passive and dependent behavior in females would be expected to result in greater stability for this class of responses for women than for men" (p. 590).

person and to the process whereby one person puts himself in the place of another or takes over the role of another" (p. 16). This study presents data on patients classified as either schizophrenic or psychoneurotic and also on their families. All of the families studied are classified as either in the lower-middle class (Class III) or in the lower-lower class (Class V). There are data on relationships within the families and also on child-rearing practices. In the lower-middle-class families as contrasted to the lower-lower-class families, (1) the mother tended to play a dominant role in the family power structure as well as in the child-rearing process; (2) the father participated more in family life, but his children questioned his masculinity; and (3) parental control of children was verbal but more effective (p. 64). In the lower-lower-class families, (1) parental control was physical, harsh, and inconsistent; (2) fathers were more feared than in Class III families but were generally uninvolved in family affairs; (3) mothers had sole responsibility for family affairs, had little time for the patients, and had difficulty maintaining order in the household; and (4) patients had fewer rewarding relationships with their siblings (p. 70).

Myers and Roberts give equal emphasis to class and developmental differences between schizophrenic and psychoneurotic patients. They report that schizophrenics were more influenced by intrafamilial pressures than were psychoneurotics. The parents of the former are described as rejecting and lacking in adequate affection and guidance, and "the home was disorganized and full of tension and antagonism." The patients "felt isolated from warm intrafamilial relationships and neglected and rejected by their parents . . ." (p. 257). The familial context of neurotic patients was somewhat less stressful. Both parents of neurotics displayed more genuine affection than did parents of schizophrenics and shared greater responsibility for child-rearing. With respect to the neurotics' behavior, the authors conclude that "their emotional relationships with their parents frequently became so intense that they seemed to rebel in order to break away from them. However, such stress appeared less severe than the schizophrenic's feelings of neglect and rejection" (p. 89). We may say that the parents of schizophrenics were generally low on both nurturance and control,

whereas the parents of neurotics were relatively high—indeed, excessively so—with respect to both parental functions.

Rebellious and aggressive behavior has been studied among lower-class pre-adolescent boys exhibiting delinquent or predelinquent behavior patterns. These boys were reported to have been subjected to parental "rejection ranging from open brutality, cruelty, and neglect to affect barrenness . . . and narcissistic absorption in their own interests which exiled the child emotionally from them" (Redl and Wine-man, 1951, p. 50). The same authors assert that "these children need a supportive design to strengthen their deficient ego functions, and a counterdelusional design to dissolve their defenses, before any of the well-known channels of therapy can be tried on them at all" (p. 27).

Bandura and Walters (1959) studied 26 antisocial, aggressive adolescent boys and the same number of controls. Aggressive subjects were referred by a county probation service and a county guidance department, and control subjects were referred by high-school counselors. The majority of the fathers of all 52 boys were employed as skilled blue-collar workers or in minor white-collar jobs. These authors report that "parents of the control boys were more likely to employ methods that seem to foster the development of internal controls, while the parents of the aggressive boys were more prone to rely on coercive methods" (p. 245). Fathers of aggressive boys were reported by both fathers and sons to have used more physical punishment and less reasoning than fathers of control boys. While such other methods of correction as deprivation of privileges, ridicule, and withdrawal of love were associated with parental rejection, reasoning alone was associated with parental warmth and nurturance and with the development of guilt. Contrary to their expectations that threats of withdrawal of love would foster the development of control by guilt, the authors report that "it now seems likely that such threats, at least when used in disciplining an adolescent, are not only indicative of parental rejection but may actually foster aggression" (p. 246). They summarize the conditions which operated to produce the boys' antisocial, aggressive behavior as follows:

[T]he fathers of the aggressive boys were typically hostile to, and rejecting of, their sons, expressed little warmth for them, and had spent little time in affectionate interaction with them during the boys' childhood. Although the mothers' greater warmth had apparently sufficed to establish dependency needs during the boys' infancy, their tendency to punish and discourage dependency behavior reduced the boys' striving for secondary rewards in the form of dependency gratification, thus reducing the effectiveness of important sources of social control. Because of the fathers' rejection and the mothers' inconsistent handling of dependent behavior, the boys had become anxious and conflicted in dependency situations. This dependency conflict generalized to other authority figures and even to peers, so reducing their effectiveness as possible socializing agents. The parents' use of punitive methods of discipline not only further alienated their sons but also fostered the hostility and aggression with which the boys had responded to emotional deprivations. The absence of consistent socialization demands, and the failure of the parents to follow through on the demands that they made, provided some reinforcement of defiance and resistance and left the boys without any clear guides for controlling and directing their behavior. . . . There was also evidence that many of the parents had subtly, if not openly, instigated and encouraged their sons' aggressive behavior outside the home and in some cases even toward the other parent [pp. 354-55].⁶

Another study of aggressive, although nondelinquent, boys concluded with somewhat different emphases. McCord, McCord, and Howard (1961) found that parents who disliked and rejected their sons were most likely to produce aggressive boys. However, aggressive boys were less likely to have been subjected to excessive demands or a high level of aggressiveness by their fathers than to "deviance" in the form of either aggressive escapism or an eccentric role in the family. Nonaggressive boys tended to have a parent who was a model of responsibility and control; such boys were more often reared by strongly religious parents who valued inner control and conformity.

Fortunately, such pathetically marginal specimens of the human race as those described by Spitz, Goldfarb, and Davis (cf. pp. 63-64 above) are seldom encountered, but when they are, they can be in-

⁶ On the last point see also Johnson, 1949.

structive from the standpoint of social psychology. Strassman, Thaler, and Schein (1956) interviewed 201 United States prisoners of war repatriated from China and North Korea in August 1953. These returnees had lived under the most trying conditions imaginable. Because physical conditions, food, and shelter were so bad, the men had to concentrate on merely keeping alive. During forced marches in the winter many died of dysentery, pneumonia, or exposure. However, it appears that many of those who died simply gave up—i.e., became listless, indifferent to their bodily needs and to what food was available, and suffered what the writers call an “apathy death.” When food and living conditions improved, the severe “apathy” reactions subsided appreciably. The authors make the point that a friend might be able to bring a victim out of his apathy: “It was usually the effort of a friend who maternally and insistently motivated the individual toward realistic goals, or the realization of ties to loved ones at home, that snapped him out of such a state of resignation” [p. 999].

In the language of the present study, the phenomenon of “brainwashing” may be regarded as a form of similar identification. Devices used by the Chinese which seemed to achieve this end were:

1. Alternating “good” treatment with bad, to prevent the prisoners from becoming extremely apathetic and keep them susceptible to the stimulation and receptive to communications of their captors;
2. Breaking up friendship groups, which deprived the prisoners of emotional support for struggling against the enemy ideology; and
3. Insulating them from news of the outside world, which deprived them of the necessary cognitive support (Schein, 1956; see also Strassman, Thaler, and Schein, 1956; Farber and Harlow, 1957).⁷

Stimulated by the “confessions” produced at Russian Communist trials and the brainwashing received by captives in Chinese prison camps, Hebb (1958) and a number of others have studied what they

⁷ Sherif (1936) and Asch (1952, pp. 451-83) have demonstrated under laboratory conditions the importance of social support in making accurate observations.

call "sensory deprivation." Because of the constraints imposed by scientific morality in a democratic society, these investigators were not able to experiment with the implications of sensory deprivation for the development of identifications in children. Rather, they worked with adult subjects who knew that they could be released from the experimental situation on demand. The experimental conditions included:

1. Immersing the subject, nude, in a water tank and equipping him with a blacked-out face mask through which he breathed; and
2. Minimizing visual, aural, kinesthetic, and tactile stimuli by (a) employing translucent goggles that admitted no visual pattern, (b) keeping noise at a level which made it impossible for the subject to hear any patterned sound, (c) keeping the subject in a single position, and (d) having him wear cardboard cuffs and gloves (Kubzansky and Leiderman, 1961).

After exposure to sensory deprivation, subjects tended to show reduced capacity to think, concentrate, or perform other tasks; anxiety; temporal and spatial disorientation; and hallucinations and somatic complaints (Solomon *et al.*, 1961). These findings seem consistent with the observations made on infants and children by Spitz, Goldfarb, Bowlby, and K. Davis. Certainly, sensory deprivation, if prolonged, would be a form of "extreme social isolation" and might be the condition out of which "anaclitic depression" arises.

Mussen and Distler (1959) have examined the relation between boys' sex-role identifications and their perceptions of their fathers' nurturing and controlling⁸ behavior. Their measure of the boys' identifications was degree of masculinity as registered by the IT Scale for Children, a test of sex-typing of interests. Perceptions of paternal nurturance and control were derived from a structured doll-play test. The subjects were 38 white middle-class kindergarten boys. The authors interpret their evidence as showing the boys' identifications with their fathers to be stronger (1) the more nurturant the father and (2) the more controlling. Levels of identification were highest

⁸ Their adjectives for controlling are "threatening" and "punitive."

when the fathers were (3) both nurturant and controlling. Here we can see some support for H_6 (p. 53), to the effect that the more functional the parent, the greater the identification of the offspring with that parent. In a somewhat different phrasing, this same conclusion was supported by the earlier study of Sears, Maccoby, and Levin (1957), who point out that the domestic division of labor makes it usual for the mother to be the more nurturant parent during the child's early years and that for this reason "her discipline should be more effective than [the father's] in ensuring the growth of self-control and conscience" (p. 406).

NURTURANCE, CONTROL, AND IDENTIFICATION: SOME DOUBTS AND QUESTIONS

Before attempting to summarize and draw conclusions from the studies we have reported on the parental functions of nurturance and control, it is appropriate that we pause for a few methodological reflections. Both research and theorizing in the area of socialization and identification are afflicted with numerous methodological weaknesses:

1. Observational data are extremely rare in these studies; rather, the data are reports from participants in the roles of parents or of children. Sometimes they are even more tenuously related to the referent behavior through being in the form of projective tests.

2. Many of the reports are retrospective; since they concern events in the somewhat remote past, these are highly subject to unwitting falsification.

3. It is common for the reports to be made by people who have had little opportunity to become acquainted with standards. (How many children has the average subject seen reared? In this day of the detached nuclear family, the usual answer is probably: himself, his siblings, if there were any, and his children, if he is a parent.)

4. The usual research design is not truly experimental; there is some doubt, therefore, that the variable regarded as the consequent condition is caused by the one labeled antecedent condition. For example, the parents of the schizophrenic offspring in the study of

Myers and Roberts (1959) may have been reacting to pre-established behavior patterns in their children rather than initiating schizogenic conditions. It may be that the incidence of schizophrenia and the parental behavior described are uncorrelated with each other except through some intermediate variable, such as social class.⁹

5. A single term may be used with such a variety of operational definitions that it is hazardous to relate the findings of one study to those of another. For example, in one research permissiveness on the part of the parent may mean no response by the parent to the child's behavior, and in another study it may signify the parents' tacit or even open approval and thus reward. Since learning theory leads us to expect that a child's behavior which is not responded to is likely to become extinguished, there is no reason to expect any generalized response in the child's behavior to this type of parental permissiveness, and such a negative finding has been reported by Sewell, Mussen, and Harris (1955).

6. Two or more terms may be used with so much overlap in meaning that distinctions become blurred or nonexistent. Such is occasionally the case with "identification" and "socialization" and also with the six other somewhat related concepts considered in Chapter 3, pp. 25-28.

7. As we shall see in Chapter 7, identification seems to have proved an unusually tricky concept to operationalize.

8. Many of the propositions about which the writers theorize involve a considerable interval of time between the occurrence of the antecedent condition and that of the consequent condition; yet virtually all the studies are synchronic and thus do not permit the gathering of data at different points in the course of the relatively slow processes being theorized about. For these reasons it is hazardous to regard the

⁹ This line of reasoning has led Selven (1957) to assert that tests of significance should not be used with nonexperimental data. By analogy, we might exhort our society to throw away its knives, scissors, and cutting wheels because children might misuse them. After all, generations of students have been taught that correlation does not necessarily signify causation, and it is important to know that schizophrenia is statistically related to certain parental behaviors, even though we are still in doubt as to what the causal nexus may be.

theoretical conclusions of these studies as strongly supported by the data. Of course, we do not mean to suggest that the writers are incompetent; the methodological weaknesses result from the difficulty—bordering on impossibility—of obtaining the kinds of data that are needed.

Following this expression of methodological skepticism, we might undertake to synthesize the literature into some general principles, rendered tentative by the appropriate caveats. We believe, however, that it will be more useful to summarize the literature by posing a series of questions which, when answered, will advance the state of knowledge very substantially.

Studies of the effects of maternal deprivation in infancy point to the indispensability of early nurturance if a responsive personality, or any personality at all, is to develop. This gives rise to our first set of questions:

1. *What are the ingredients of nurturance? With particular reference to infants, what is the relative importance of feeding and of physical contact? What is the importance of physical contact with a responsive other?* With respect to the very young, both Spitz's study of foundlings and Harlow's of rhesus monkeys show physical contact to be more important than feeding, but it seems clear that this can be true only if a certain minimal level of food is assured. Just as man ignores the air he breathes unless it is in short supply, so did Spitz's infants and Harlow's monkeys appear to be relatively unemotional about their food. And Harlow's later results dramatize the superiority of living mother over mechanical surrogates.

2. *If we accept the conclusion that nurturance is positively correlated with desirable outcomes—development (rather than nondevelopment) of personality, feelings of security, etc.—should we understand the relationship to be linear or nonlinear?* By combining the results of studies on anaclitic depression, hospitalism, and extreme social isolation (Spitz, 1945, 1946a, 1946b, 1949; Goldfarb, 1945; K. Davis, 1940, 1947), on rats (Hunt *et al.*, 1947) and dogs (Levy, 1934), and on rejected and overprotected boys (Redl and Wineman, 1951; Levy, 1943), we find justification for differentiating four levels of nurturance

and empirical basis for the Reik-Sears curvilinear hypothesis regarding the relationship between the level of maternal nurturance and the resulting level of the child's dependency (see p. 7 above). The studies on "sensory deprivation" (Solomon *et al.*, 1961) and on former captives of Chinese prison camps (Schein, 1956; Strassman, Thaler, and Schein, 1956; Farber and Harlow, 1957) suggest that the apathetic response to minimal nurturance is not unique to infancy or childhood.¹⁰

Table 3 distinguishes four levels of nurturant behavior and hypothesizes in schematic form the resulting behaviors of *I* and kinds of identification.

Table 3. Kinds of Identification Deduced as Responses to Levels of Nurturance

<i>M's Level of Nurturance</i>	<i>Resulting Behavior of I</i>	<i>Kind of Identification</i>
I. Very low	Apathetic	None
II. Low	Receptive-dependent	Reciprocal
III. Medium	Self-reliant, independent, and somewhat nurturant	Similar
IV. High	Receptive-dependent	Reciprocal

In the light of this formulation, the effect of the occasional nurturance on the part of the Chinese captors was to prevent the prisoners from settling down on level I (see p. 78 above), while the efforts of Redl and Wineman were directed toward raising their charges from level II to level III (see p. 76 above).

In Table 3 two different levels of nurturance on the part of *M* (II and IV) are hypothesized to result in receptive-dependent behavior on

¹⁰ Moreover, if we think of love in terms of need gratification (Winch, 1958), it follows that the parental nurturing function constitutes the basis for the child's love of the parent.

the part of *I* (i.e., in a reciprocal identification with respect to nurturance). Another level (III) is expected to lead to self-reliant, independent behavior. To the extent that dependence is equivalent to passivity¹¹ (and self-reliant independence is equivalent to striving behavior), and to the extent that passivity is the antonym of striving behavior, we can interpret this as also being a hypothesis about the conditions leading to different levels of achievement-oriented behavior in *I*.

Some additional thoughts are suggested by the differing consequences hypothesized to be associated with levels II and III:

1. A medium level of nurturance may be the consequence of the parent's use of nurturance as reward for parentally approved responses. This is sometimes spoken of as "conditional love" or "love-oriented discipline" or "psychological discipline," about which more will be said below.

2. Medium nurturance might be experienced as partial, or intermittent, reinforcement,¹² and there has been some indication in the literature that intermittently reinforced responses are especially resistant to extinction (Jenkins and Stanley, 1950; Skinner, 1953, especially pp. 99-100; Lewis, 1960).

3. The hypothesis that similar identification results from medium but not from low nurturance calls to mind the interpretation of revolutionary movements to the effect that those seeking to displace the ruling class (and thus registering "similar identification") are not the down-trodden classes (analogous to levels I and II) but the classes which have prospered modestly and aspire to prosper more (more analogous to level III).¹³

¹¹ Of course, a person can be dependent without being passive. The child who is demanding or whining may be quite active in his attempts to obtain satisfaction of dependent needs.

¹² Or perhaps even as total reinforcement if the child does not frequently give parentally approved responses.

¹³ Or, in today's cliché: you can't inspire hungry masses to fight for democracy. Implied here is a question as to the adequacy of the drive-reduction model of motivation. Schachtel (1959) and White (1959), among others, have pointed out that this homeostatic model has deficiencies and that man sometimes takes action to increase certain tensions in order to heighten subsequent gratifications. Maslow (1955) seems to believe that animals and neurotic humans are animated mainly by what he calls "deficit motives" whereas "self-actualizing"

3. *What are rewards? Do they not vary with the subject's age, his socioeconomic level, the economic development of his society, and its value system?*¹⁴ If identification is to be explained on the basis of resources which become rewards (i.e., in terms of functions) and of the roles of the persons who control those resources (i.e., in terms of structures), then it is critically important to know to what phenomena a class of subjects under study will respond as rewards. In the classical drive-reduction model, certain drives or needs are postulated and phenomena which satisfy these drives or needs are regarded as rewards. Thus it is conventional to assert that in the first few weeks of life the human animal has a set of physical needs which are gratified by air, water, food, shelter, and clothing; and that presently there is superimposed on these physical needs another set variously called social, psychogenic, secondary, etc. and centering on social approval and acceptance. Such a motivational scheme as Murray's (1938) is based on this formulation.

There is beginning to be a respectable body of theory of social motivation based on the assumption that we know what people want. For example, Patchen's theory of social rewards (1961) presents the concept of dissonance based on the relation between what a worker receives in relation to a "comparison person" and the worker's overall assessment of his own position in relation to that of the "comparison person." That is, if the worker believes himself to be superior to but is receiving less than the "comparison person," the worker is predicted to have a dissonant attitude toward the amount he is receiving. Patchen's theory seems quite satisfactory in dealing with what is sometimes called the "all-purpose reward"—money. Such theorizing as has been done on the subject of rewards seems to conclude that "rats and people come to love things for which they have suffered" (Festinger,

humans are responding to their own "growth motives." In the same volume are other papers relevant to this point by: McClelland, Olds, Peak, Rotter, and Young (all 1955); see also Allport (1955), Gwirtz and Baer (1956), Helson (1948), Hunt (1960), and Maccoby (1961).

¹⁴ On the relation of these questions to the concept of basic societal function, see pp. 40-42 above.

1961, p. 11; see also E. H. Hess's application of the "law of effort" to imprinting in ducklings [1959, pp. 56-59].)

Presumably the specific phenomena, tangible and intangible, which serve as rewards vary from one culture and subculture to another. For this reason, it seems necessary, whenever undertaking to determine the inventory of potential rewards, to do a survey among the category of subjects whom one contemplates studying.

4. *Is there a critical period during which consistent nurturance is so highly important for the welfare of the child that some visible "damage" results from insufficient nurturance?* Hess (1959) asserts that there is a maturationally determined critical period for imprinting in ducklings. Observing that the development of the suckling behavior of kittens is a resultant of both maturation and situation, Rosenblatt *et al.* (1959) conclude that "every age-period [during the first seven weeks of life] is critical for the development of certain aspects of the normal, progressive suckling pattern" (p. 19). Harlow has concluded that monkeys reared with "ever-loving cloth surrogates, for whom they had shown unrequited affection," did not develop social relationships with other monkeys as adequate as those developed by monkeys reared with live mothers (Palmer, 1961). From his own work and from such studies as those by Spitz and Goldfarb, Bowlby (1952) concludes that a child who does not receive mothering in the first two and a half years—"in actual fact this upper age limit for most babies is probably before 12 months"—has a relatively high probability of developing an affectionless and psychopathic character. However, in summarizing a conference on critical periods of development, Palmer (1961, p. 17) says: "The suggestion that critical periods may become less fixed in time as the subjects studied ascend the phylogenetic scale should make the child psychologist cautious about prematurely applying concepts such as imprinting to human behavior."

A parallel set of questions can be formulated concerning the parental function of control. One study (Bandura and Walters, 1959) informs us that parental behavior which the offspring interprets as harsh and restricting induces a hostile response and that if the offspring is routinely exposed to discipline perceived in this way, his hostile

reaction seems to become chronic. On the other hand, the data which generate this hypothesis could be interpreted as meaning that parents react vigorously (harshly, restrictively) to innately aggressive and violent children and that they reason with children who are innately more placid. Confusion on this topic is intensified when we notice a report by Sears *et al.* (1957) that permissiveness with respect to aggressive behavior results in its being continued and a similar finding by Hollenberg and Sperry (1950) that permissiveness results in an increase of aggressive behavior through reducing the anticipation of punishment or increasing the anticipation of reward.

5. *How general (or specific) are the internalized consequences of the controlling function?* The view that internalized controls permeate attitudes, fantasies, and dreams as well as overt behavior is basic to the psychoanalytic concept of the superego, which Freud (1949) saw as the product of the child's identifying with the parent of the same sex at the end of the oedipal period. The concepts of superego and conscience imply that the product of parental control will be "both inhibition of impulse and feelings of guilt when restraints have temporarily broken down" (Bandura and Walters, 1959, p. 251). A much less generalized consequence is seen in the early study of Hartshorne and May (1928), which showed the exercise of conscience to be related to the specific situation rather than a highly permeating disposition. Miller and Swanson (1960) suggest that there are different developmental origins of guilt and that therefore it would be useful to distinguish types of guilt. As they say: "It is necessary to speak of 'guilts' rather than of 'guilt' and to be sensitive to the complexities of moral learning" (p. 165).

6. Another line of inquiry concerns the consequences of different combinations of nurturance and control. *What are the joint effects of different levels of nurturance and control?* Mussen and Distler (1959) report that sons show strong similar identifications with fathers who are high on both of these parental functions. D. M. Levy (1943) concludes that mothers who are high on both and who employ their high control to prolong their sons' dependence and submissiveness succeed in doing so. With low control and high nurturance, he says, an aggres-

sive, demanding child is produced. The combination of low nurturance and high control harshly expressed (or at least harshly experienced) leads to aggressive, antisocial behavior, according to Bandura and Walters (1959). From Myers and Roberts (1959) comes the hypothesis that low nurturance combined with inconsistent control is a precursor to schizophrenia. It appears from the data of Sears *et al.* (1953) that contingent nurturance—i.e., nurturance which is granted or withheld by the parent for the purpose of controlling the child's behavior—may initially produce the base for self-controlled, independent action.¹⁵

Whiting and Child (1953) state that the mode of punishment may have the effect of perpetuating the child's desire for parental affection or causing him to avoid the parent. These authors speak of disciplinary techniques which have the former effect as love-oriented. They believe that there are three such techniques—punishment by denial of love, by threats of denial of reward, and by threats of criticism. On the other hand, three techniques which they regard as likely to cause the child to avoid the parent are physical punishment, threats of physical punishment, and punishment by ridicule. We can see that the element common to the first group of techniques, implicitly or explicitly, is contingent nurturance, whereas the latter group seems to express unalloyed hostility.

Let us carry the statement one step further and note that the purpose of the parent's attempts to socialize the child is to cause the child to internalize the parent's code, with the result that the child acquires a need to avoid behaving in a manner disapproved by the parent and to perform positively in a parentally approved manner. The results of studies by Henry (1957) and Sears *et al.* (1957) suggest that when nurturance is selectively used so as to constitute reward, the result will be internalization of discipline.

Various writers have concluded that without a good deal of affection in childhood there will not be appropriate development of conscience (Redl and Wineman, 1951; Bandura and Walters, 1959). Their data,

¹⁵ Maccoby (1961) has proposed that permissiveness and rejection can be stated as combinations of these dimensions of parental behavior.

say the latter writers, show "that a disruption of the dependency relationship will make less probable the internalization of external standards and values" (p. 309). On the other hand, Whiting (1959) reports that there is little support for the proposition that maternal warmth is positively related to conscience development. He does, however, find support in the ethnographic literature for the following hypotheses:

1. Love-oriented techniques of discipline are a precondition for the formation of guilt.
2. Severe and early socialization are related to guilt.
3. Guilt is positively related to the prestige of the father.

Concerning the last hypothesis, which Whiting speaks of as "status envy" and which in Table 1 (p. 8) would be classified as "observational learning vicariously rewarded," he writes:

Suggested by Freud's formulation of the oedipal conflict, the hypothesis is simply that a person will identify with, and hence accept the moral values of, any person who is a successful rival with respect to resources which he covets but cannot control. Specifically, here it is assumed that when a child and a father frequently compete for love, affection, food, care, and even sexual gratification from the mother, and when the father is often successful—that is, he is nurtured by the mother at a time when the child is in need—then the child should envy the father and hence identify with him [p. 188].

The study of Helper (1955) provides some corroboration for this hypothesis.

7. *What are the consequences of having the nurturant and controlling functions carried out by different persons? What happens when one parent is nurturant and the other is controlling? What is the consequence of having the nurturant function carried out in the nuclear family and the controlling function by a kinsman or by a governess?* The Victorian, especially Middle European, family would be an example of such a functionally specialized parental dyad. Whiting and Child (1953) have related nuclear and extended family structure to the development of guilt. They point out that the function of socializing the child may be distributed between the nuclear family and extra-

familial groupings, with differential consequences. In particular, they hypothesize that if responsibility for punishing the child is assigned to specialists outside the family, the child may not develop feelings of guilt because parental love is not contingent upon his conforming to cultural rules.

SUMMARY

At the beginning of this book identification was tentatively defined as "the more or less lasting influence of one person on another." According to our informal phrasing, nurturant behavior includes not only providing for the physical needs and welfare of another but also giving a kind word, a reassuring embrace, etc. In the language of the layman, the verb "to control" is roughly the equivalent of "to influence." The controlling function, we have said, is manifested in that behavior of a parent or parent-surrogate which is oriented toward protecting the child from some hazard or training him to behave in some desired manner. We have seen that the parent may or may not use the nurturing function in the interest of the controlling function—i.e., as reinforcement. There are, of course, other means of control than the nurturant function, most notably physical punishment. (There is the stick as well as the carrot!)

The evidence presented in this chapter suggests a set of hypotheses which will be presented in dyadic form—involving one parent and the child. It goes without saying that the child's development is presumably being affected by the behavior of the other parent as well, if that parent is present. Thus the following hypotheses should be construed as including the tacit condition "other things being equal."

H₁₁

When the level of nurturance is high and the level of control is low, the probability seems greater than when both functions are at a medium level that:

- (a) the child will remain dependent,
- (b) he will fail to develop internalized controls,
- (c) he will become brattish and demanding,

- (d) he will, in summary, develop a reciprocal identification with the parent with respect to nurturance and no identification with the parent with respect to control.

H_{12}

When the level of nurturance is high and the level of control is high, the probability seems greater than when both functions are at a medium level that:

- (a) the child will develop a neurosis,
- (b) the neurosis can be interpreted as the consequence of a role conflict between the expectations of the parent that the child will remain appreciative and obedient and others' expectations that he will begin to manifest behaviors more appropriate to adulthood, a state of affairs sometimes spoken of as "smother love,"
- (c) which may be summarized as the child's developing a reciprocal identification with respect to both nurturance and control.

H_{13}

When the levels of nurturance and control are medium and nurturance is used consistently for control, conditions appear to be optimal for the child:

- (a) to develop independence and internalized controls,
- (b) which we may call similar identification with the parent with respect to nurturance and control.

H_{14}

When the level of nurturance is low and the level of control is high, the probability seems greater than when both functions are at a medium level that:

- (a) physical punishment will be the chief means of control,
- (b) the child will remain dependent but become aggressive,
- (c) which may be summarized as the child's developing a similar identification with respect to both nurturance and control.

H₁₅

When the level of nurturance is very low, the probability seems greater than when it is at a medium level that:

- (a) the child will become apathetic, and
- (b) the child will develop no identification with the parent.

These hypotheses can be viewed as particularizations and elaborations of H₆ (p. 53), which proposes that the more functional the parent (not merely the more interactive), the greater will be the child's identification with that parent.

6

Some special varieties of the dependent variable

Stoke (1950) has proposed that the clarity of the role of *M* will influence the nature of the identification, and Cottrell (1942) has hypothesized that adjustment to roles should vary directly with the clarity of their definitions. On the other hand, it can be argued that a clearly defined role is one with relatively little range of permissible deviation, that such a role is more difficult to achieve than one with considerable latitude, and therefore that a clearly defined role should increase, rather than decrease, problems of adjustment. We shall keep these ideas in mind as we take up two important kinds of positional identification: first, with respect to sex-roles, and second, with respect to occupation. Because the considerable literature on achievement motivation is related to occupational identification as well as to sex-role identification, that literature is also considered. The chapter concludes with a survey of the ways in which the child's constitution imposes limits on his identificatory possibilities.

SEX-ROLE IDENTIFICATION

It was Freud's idea that typically the girl has more difficulty in achieving a feminine identification than does the boy in achieving one

which is masculine. Freud reasoned that for both sexes the original source of gratification and hence the original love-object is the mother. As we have seen, Freud distinguished between love-object and object of identification, and it appears that in his view of normal psychosexual development a post-infantile child would not be in love with and identify with the same person at the same time. In our language, Freud saw the transition from infancy to childhood as bringing a change from a reciprocal identification with the mother to a similar identification with the parent of the same sex. Since the boy need not change his original love-object, according to Freud, the task of identification with his father is a relatively easy one. For the girl, however, Freud regarded a shift in love-object from mother to father as a necessary precondition for the normal development of her feminine identification. Mowrer (1953) has proposed a revision of this view. He suggests that the original relationship between infant and mother be viewed as identification rather than love. Then "normal" development requires a shift in identification-object on the part of the boy and not on the part of the girl. In the same vein, Brown (1956) and Lynn (1959) theorize that the girl has an initial advantage in progressing toward the appropriate sex-role identification. Lynn (1961) adds that if the boy does not make the shift during infancy, "it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to make an adequate masculine identification" (p. 381). After considering other aspects of this topic, we shall return to a consideration of the relative difficulty confronting males and females in the achievement of sex-role identification.

Although we cannot be sure just how it works, Stoke and Cottrell do seem to be arguing plausibly in asserting that the degree of differentiation of the parental roles should affect the task of identification. To the extent that differentiation exists, each individual is expected to exhibit the repertoire of behaviors appropriate to his anatomically given sex category and to avoid the repertoire appropriate to the other sex and inappropriate to his or her own. Where the degree of differentiation is slight, as among the Mountain Arapesh (Margaret Mead, 1939b), it follows that the child has few distinctions to learn with respect to sex-linked prescriptions and proscriptions.

After studying sex-role differentiation in 224 societies, Murdock

(1937) concluded that men tend to engage in such activities as the catching of sea mammals, lumbering, hunting, fishing, and trapping, whereas women tend to specialize in the more sedentary but equally important pursuits of grinding grain, cooking, preserving meat and fish, and gathering fruit and vegetables. The size of the interacting family group and the nature of the economy have much to do with the degree of role differentiation in the family. Barry, Bacon, and Child (1957) found large sex-role differences to be associated with (1) large family groups with a high level of cooperative interaction and (2) an economy that places importance on physical strength and the motor skills requiring strength. Because of its small size, the isolated nuclear family can exhibit little role differentiation. Barry *et al.* attribute the relatively low degree of sex-role differentiation in our society to our isolated nuclear family and to our mechanized economy, which makes us less dependent upon the superior strength of the male. As functions leave the family and hence as the number of roles thins out, moreover, one would expect a diminution of role differentiation. A specific example of the effect of an economy upon role differentiation comes from Alor. It is reported that Alorese mothers return to work in the fields within a fortnight after delivering their children; they transfer the maternal function to young girls (Kardiner, 1945).

In their effort to achieve a culture-free conception of familial relationships, Parsons and Bales (1955) have proposed that the role of father tends to be "instrumental" and that of mother "expressive." In Zelditch's (1955) version of this distinction, the instrumental role entails being "final judge and executor of punishment, discipline, and control over the children of the family" as well as "boss-manager of the farm, leader of the hunt, etc." (p. 318). He represents the occupant of the expressive role as "the mediator, conciliator, of the family . . . [the one who] soothes over disputes, resolves hostilities . . . is affectionate, solicitous, warm . . . indulgent, relatively unpunishing" (p. 315). This makes the instrumental-expressive distinction approximately isomorphic with the controlling-nurturing differentiation of the parental function. In the phrasing of Parsons and Bales, however, there is less similarity; although the maternal role does call for the management of interpersonal tensions within the family, the paternal

role centers on manipulation of the environment outside the family.¹

Throughout much of the western world it is traditional to conceive of the father's role as primarily controlling and the mother's as primarily nurturing. We have noted Mead's contrasting description of the relatively undifferentiated parental roles of the Arapesh. Among the Trobrianders, according to Malinowski (1955), both parents are highly nurturant, and the controlling function is carried out by the child's maternal uncle. With respect to American society, we have referred to the Mussen and Distler (1959) study, which showed that kindergarten boys identify more strongly with their fathers when the latter carry out both parental functions than when they carry out either the nurturing or the controlling function alone. It is reported, moreover, that boys high in masculinity experience a more permissive, easygoing family climate in which there is greater use of love-oriented techniques of discipline than do their less masculine peers. The authors remark, however, that the mother's perception of a warm family climate and her perception of an affectionate relationship between father and son may not be independent (Mussen and Distler, 1960). A preliminary report on another study (Hess, Wright, and Tuska, 1961) may be interpreted as indicating that men have similar identifications with fathers who carry out the controlling function (i.e., are perceived as quick, active, firm, sure) and with mothers who carry out the nurturing function (are perceived as warm, responsive, mel-low). We have noted the report by Lois W. Hoffman (1960) that children of both sexes tend to show assertive and aggressive behavior when the father is the primary disciplinarian and her observation that maternal affection makes a boy feel loved but paternal affection gives him confidence. Hoffman's finding is consistent with the previously cited study of Henry (1956), who found that when the principal disciplinarian was the father, sons tended to be extrapunitive; when it was the mother, the sons tended to be intropunitive.

Freud used as a (more or less explicit) postulate of his psychology

¹ The distinction made by Thibaut and Kelley (1959) between task functions and group-maintenance functions corresponds rather closely to the instrumental-expressive dichotomy of Parsons and Bales.

the traditional conception of the father's role as primarily controlling and the mother's as primarily nurturing. On the other hand, it is frequently remarked that in important segments of the American middle and lower classes the family is highly matricentric, with the implication that the mother both nurtures and controls while the father becomes a functional nonentity (cf., e.g., Frazier, 1939; Wylie, 1942). Perhaps the relative difficulty of males and females in achieving their sex-role identifications does not arise in infancy, as both Freud and Mowrer (1950), as well as many others, believe (with, of course, quite different conceptions of the process), but merely reflects the "battle of the sexes" for mastery, influence, and prestige in later childhood and adulthood. That is, where the male is clearly dominant, as in Freud's Vienna, the female has the "problem," and where the female is, or is believed to be, more influential, as Wylie and others have asserted with respect to recent America, it is the male who has the "problem."

Although the status of women in middle-class America is clearly higher than in the Vienna of the Hapsburgs, diverse evidence points to the conclusion that the culture gives a higher value to masculine roles than to feminine roles: (1) when 11- to 12-year-old children were asked to draw human figures, the first drawings of girls contained more figures of the opposite sex than did those of boys (Jolles, 1952); (2) a larger proportion of female than of male Ss of college age report being the "favorite of neither parent" (Winch, 1951); (3) in a study of the accuracy of self-estimates, both male and female sixth- and eleventh-graders overrated themselves on mental, physical, and social abilities, but the tendency was significantly more pronounced among boys (Brandt, 1958); (4) of 380 college students in introductory and advanced sociology courses who were asked which sex they would prefer if they were to have only one child, 92 per cent of the males and 66 per cent of the females responded "male" (Dinitz, Dynes, and Clarke, 1954); (5) both college men and women consistently regarded males more favorably than females on three different tests: a scale of the general worth of each sex, an adjective check list, and an open-ended questionnaire about men's and women's characteristics (McKee and Sheriffs, 1957). And of course there is the obvious fact that women

are virtually unheard of in the visible positions of great influence and leadership.

Lynn (1961) notes the evidence that American culture accords higher value to masculine than to feminine roles, but he also remarks that Kinsey found a greater frequency of homosexuality among males. "If males prefer being male more than females prefer being female," he goes on, "why should there be more male than female homosexuals?" To answer his own question he then proposes the formulation noted above, to the effect that the boy must shift identification-object at an early stage or he probably will be unable to make a masculine identification at all.

Turning to the question of the esteem each parent has for the other, we find that there has been considerable recognition in the literature of the importance of the tone of the parents' spousal relations for the child's parental and sex-role identifications. Stoke (1950) lists as a determinant of identification "the attitude of influential persons toward the person with whom identification is attempted." Helper (1955) found that a tendency for high-school boys to assume similarity with their fathers was significantly related to the mother's approval of the father as a model for the child ($r = +.39$). The father's approval of the mother as a model, however, was not significantly related to perceived similarity with her for boys or girls. Pauline S. Sears (1953) demonstrated that parental discord may affect the performance of sex-typed behavior in young children. She found that five-year-old boys who adopted the mother's role most strongly in doll play had mothers who, while warm and affectionate, were critical of their husbands. Bandura and Walters (1959) interpret the influence of spousal relations on the offspring's adoption of sex-appropriate behavior as follows:

One would expect a child to learn more rapidly to copy a model with high prestige than a model with low prestige, since the imitation of a highly regarded person is likely to be more rewarding. If the mother and father have a good deal of affection for each other, imitation of parental models would be facilitated. The mother's attitude and feelings toward the father may be particularly influential in the development of the mas-

culine-role identification of a male child. If the mother loves and admires her husband, she is likely to welcome the boy's imitation of the father's behavior and attitudes. The boy's father-identification will therefore be rewarded not only by his father but by his mother as well. On the other hand, if the parents have little affection for each other, the boy will be less motivated to identify with the father. Moreover, such a situation places the boy in a dilemma. If he tries to emulate his father, he is apt to lose his mother's approval and acceptance . . . [p. 257].

As predicted, the results of the Bandura and Walters study indicate that the interspousal atmospheres of families of aggressive and control boys do differ. Parents of aggressive boys expressed significantly less warmth and more hostility toward each other than did parents of control boys. The specific relationship between interparental warmth and parental demands for sex-appropriate behavior, however, appears more complex than their original reasoning would suggest. In families of aggressive boys, both parents' demands for masculine behavior were significantly negatively associated with warmth and positively associated with hostility toward the spouse. Thus, contrary to expectation, dissatisfaction with spouse appears to be related to increased demands from both parents for sex-typed behavior from the child. Bandura and Walters reason from these findings that the mothers' hostility toward their husbands may make them emphasize sex-typing, "not so much because they wished their sons to be like their husbands, but because they looked upon them as partial substitutes for husbands whom they could not fully accept" (p. 276). Fathers, they suggest, may encourage masculine identification in the sons because of a hostility toward feminine traits associated with low respect for their wives. For the control families they found no consistent relationships between demands for masculinity and interparental warmth or hostility, but the fathers' warmth and acceptance of their sons were positively correlated with the fathers' demands for masculinity.

Some emotional and intellectual correlates of sex-role identification are reported in the literature. Gray (1957) investigated the relationship of sex-role identification to adjustment and anxiety. She predicted that sex-appropriate behavior in sixth- and seventh-grade boys would

be associated with low anxiety because at that age masculine traits have been found to be especially highly valued. The expectation that girls would value masculine traits led Gray to hypothesize that for girls sex-appropriate, or feminine, behavior would be positively correlated with anxiety. She found that for both sexes those high in anxiety showed significantly more sex-appropriate behavior (as reflected by peer perceptions) than those low in anxiety. To explain the result that sex-appropriate behavior for boys was also found to be related to high anxiety, the author suggests that for sixth- and seventh-grade boys the effort to attain a masculine role may be stressful enough to be associated with anxiety. Social acceptance was associated with a high degree of sex-appropriate behavior in boys, but not in girls at this age. In a subsequent study, Gray (1959) found that perceived similarity to the same-sex parent among eighth-grade boys was related to sex-typed behavior as rated by peers. Boys who saw themselves as relatively similar to their fathers showed better adjustment than boys who perceived themselves as quite different from their fathers. On the other hand, girls who saw themselves as resembling their mothers did not show better adjustment.

Sex-role identification has also been related to learning and to problem-solving skills. A preliminary report indicates that high masculine identifiers among young boys tend to be more reinforced by male adult experimenters whereas low masculine identifiers show significantly less conditioning to male experimenters (Epstein and Liverant, 1961). Using the Terman-Miles M-F and the MMPI scales, Milton (1957) reports results supporting the hypothesis that the more masculine the sex-role identification, regardless of actual sex, the higher the skill in problem solving. The author states that differences between men and women in problem-solving skill may be due, at least in part, to a set of learned behaviors that constitute a culturally defined sex role.

Lynn (1959) has drawn a distinction among (1) sex-role preference, (2) sex-role adoption, and (3) sex-role identification. "Adoption" refers to overt behavior and "identification," in this context, to "actual incorporation of the role of a given sex and unconscious reac-

tions characteristic of that role." "Preference," of course, refers to volition and not to overt behavior or incorporation of role.

From the findings of a number of studies, Lynn (1959) has evidence which he interprets as supporting the following hypotheses:

1. With increasing age, males become relatively more identified with the masculine role and females relatively less identified with the feminine role.²

2. A larger proportion of females than of males shows preference for the role of the opposite sex.

3. A larger proportion of females than of males adopts aspects of the role of the opposite sex.

4. Males tend to identify with a cultural stereotype of the masculine role, whereas females tend to identify with aspects of their own mother's role specifically.

The basis for the last hypothesis is Lynn's reasoning that the girl is in the company of her same-sex parent more than the boy is with his, and also that the stereotype of the masculine role is more clearly elaborated in the culture than is the stereotype of the feminine role. If Lynn's fourth hypothesis is true because of the greater stereotype of the masculine role, it might be expected that males would tend to see significant persons in their environment more as role occupants and less as individuals than would females. But Kohn and Fiedler (1961) report that the reverse is true in their study of high-school and college students.

In summary, it does not appear that the present state of knowledge permits much systematization of the topic of sex-role identification beyond Lynn's formulation, noted above. We can see, however, that

² Terman and Miles (1936) report that boys' M-F scores cease to gain in masculinity during the later high-school years, begin to shift in the feminine direction by the sophomore year in college, and continue to decrease in masculinity within each succeeding decade. These authors report that females also become less masculine with age, but that the change is more marked in men than in women. At first glance this evidence appears to contradict Lynn's hypothesis. However, the Terman-Miles data may not actually be contradictory since Lynn's hypothesis specifies sex-role *identification* and the Terman-Miles M-F scale has to do with what Lynn calls sex-role *preference*.

the studies surveyed in this section have involved variables which we have generally used throughout this book as antecedent to identification: familial functions, especially the parental functions and the relative influence of father and mother.³ Also, this topic has raised again the question as to whether or not failure to identify at some critical period with the parent of the same sex implies lifelong failure to make the appropriate sex-role identification.

OCCUPATIONAL-ROLE IDENTIFICATION

In the opening paragraph of this chapter we noted Stoke's remark about the presumed connection between clarity of role and ease of identification. Mack (1956) suggests that occupations differ in the clarity of their roles and offers the concept of determinateness. According to his formulation, a determinate occupational role in its ideal type is defined by a code of ethics and by prescribed requirements for entry, such as training, education, and licensing. In an empirical article (Mack, 1957), he reports on attitudinal responses to a personnel form by some engineers, bankers, and salesmen. These three occupations represent a range of determinateness, as Mack conceives it, from high to low, respectively. He found that salesmen (i.e., those in a relatively indeterminate occupation) are much more means-oriented (oriented to money) than are engineers (those in a determinate occupation), who are more interested in the satisfaction to be derived from the work itself.

Relating the conceptions of clarity of role and determinateness of occupation, we have:

H₁₆

The more determinate the occupational role of *M*, the stronger will be *I*'s positional identification with *M*.

Since it seems plausible to assume, as does Bronfenbrenner (1959), that "parents would try to instill in the child the attitudes and behavior

³ Of course, previously noted studies of familial structure are also relevant to sex-role identification. Cf., e.g., the Lynn and Sawrey (1959) study of the children of Norse sailors, cited on p. 35 above.

which have turned out to be important for holding and succeeding in the kind of job in which the father is engaged"⁴ (p. 9), it is useful to have a classification of occupations based upon the kind of work involved. Bronfenbrenner distinguishes three occupational orientations: relationship, skill, and production. An occupation is classified as predominantly *relationship-oriented* if the work is principally concerned with getting along with others—i.e., establishing and maintaining relationships. A job is classified as predominantly *production-oriented* if quotas of volume are paramount. If retention or advancement on the job depends primarily on standards of workmanship, the occupation is classified as predominantly *skill-oriented*.

Another classification of occupational orientations has been offered by Holland (1959):

1. *Motoric*. Gratification comes from activities involving physical strength, aggressive action, and motor skill. Aviators, truck drivers, and carpenters are illustrative occupations.
2. *Intellectual*. Preference for thinking through rather than acting out problems; wish to organize and to understand the world. Scientific occupations are exemplary.
3. *Supportive*. Preference for a structure and safe setting; furthermore, a combination of verbal and interpersonal skills and of humanistic and religious values is posited. Illustrative occupations are social workers, teachers, and therapists.
4. *Conforming*. An almost obsessive concern with rules and regulations for living. Bank tellers and file clerks are illustrative.
5. *Persuasive*. Wish to use verbal skills in dominating, selling, or leading others. Salesmen, politicians, and business executives are examples.
6. *Esthetic*. Preference for dealing with environmental problems through self-expression in artistic media. Artists constitute the best examples.

⁴ Johnson, Johnson, and Martin (1961) find that college students whose fathers are in entrepreneurial occupations (Miller and Swanson, 1958) average higher on a scale of authoritarianism (the F scale) and rate significantly fewer behaviors as appropriate to both boys and girls than do offspring of fathers employed in bureaucratic occupations.

Moving from familial to class determinants of children's occupational orientation, we note a study of occupational prestige by Weinstein (1956). He reports that children from lower and lower-middle strata emphasize fame, authority, and the material rewards of occupations, whereas children from upper and upper-middle strata value occupations which emphasize the exercise of skill and psychic rewards. (Less related to the topic of identification is his finding that the child's age is negatively related to an emphasis on the fame of the occupation and positively related to the authority.)

ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION

Some years ago Allison Davis (1947) proposed that the characteristic modes of child rearing of the American middle class built into the modal personality an anxiety which was adaptive in the sense that it provided the drive for striving behavior. Whether or not that is true, there is evidence that middle-class boys manifest a higher average achievement drive than do lower-class boys or those from the top strata. With high-school seniors as subjects, Douvan (1956) measured achievement motivation projectively. She found that in working-class Ss this drive dropped significantly below that of middle-class Ss when material reward was not provided, whereas the striving of middle-class Ss remained at approximately the same high level regardless of material reward. McArthur (1955) studied the values of upper- and middle-class Harvard freshmen as expressed in TAT protocols. He reports that the middle-class Ss show significantly higher achievement orientation. The greater degree of internalization of achievement striving in middle-class, compared with working-class, high-school students was also demonstrated by Hoffman, Metsos, and Protz (1958). Rosen (1961) also found more achievement motivation in middle-class than in lower-class boys, and he reports that the increment of motivation interacts in a somewhat complex fashion with size of family and birth-order of the son. In an earlier paper, Rosen (1956) distinguished between motivation to achieve and a value orientation toward achieve-

ment and reported that both were higher in middle-class than in lower-class boys in two New Haven high schools.

There has been considerable interest in ethnic differences in achievement. Rosen (1956) finds that ethnic groups in America differ in their evaluation of occupational achievement. He states that white American males aged 8 to 14 years who are of Greek, Jewish, or Protestant descent seem to show on the average more achievement motivation than do American males of the same age who are of Italian, French-Canadian, or Negro descent. Strodbeck, McDonald, and Rosen (1957) report that Italian high-school boys perceive their parents to be more accepting of lower-status occupations than do Jewish high-school students.

Although there is a shortage of explanation, there seems to be an abundance of evidence of differential achievement by members of ethnic-religious groups:

. . . To take the best-documented instance, there is ample evidence from a variety of sources to show that Jews are conspicuous overachievers. They do better in school than one would expect on the basis of I.Q. alone; a larger percentage of them go to college; in a New England city they have been reported to have risen more rapidly in the class system than other immigrants arriving about the same time and facing the same disadvantages; among those with high I.Q. in Terman and Oden's study the Jews were strikingly more often in the successful category than in the unsuccessful one; according to Havemann and West's study of over 9,000 college graduates, they make more money, on the average, than either Catholics or Protestants. Perhaps the single most striking finding is Strodbeck's estimate that, whereas in the United States urban population as a whole approximately 35 to 40 per cent of the gainfully employed persons may be classified as belonging in upper-level occupations (e.g., clerks, managers, professionals), 80 to 85 per cent of the gainfully employed urban Jews are in these same high-status occupations. . . . Easy explanations for such differences, such as prejudice or racial inheritance, are clearly inadequate [McClelland *et al.*, 1958, pp. 19-20].

Reviewing the socio-historical sources of the value orientations of American Jews, Hurvitz (1958) discusses six contributing factors:

Some special varieties of the dependent variable / 105

(1) differential mobility, (2) the Protestant ethic, (3) religious tradition, (4) a business "ethic," (5) urban psychology, and (6) minority-group status. His discussion of these factors is relevant because it provides a basis on which to assess the familial context in which value orientations are learned. Hurvitz notes the importance of the family in the transmission of these values: "These values are transferred to American Jews through the interpersonal relationship within the first-generation family, and although this family form was not of the middle class before coming to America, its latent attitudes, values, and goals were of the middle class"⁵ (p. 118).

Achievement behavior may be linked theoretically to the conceptualization of conscience and the manifestation of guilt as a consequence of identification; it may also be linked to independence training and to achievement training. Levin and Baldwin (1959) suggest a number of child-rearing variables which may be related to the inculcation of achievement pressures. There are:

the use of "love-oriented" techniques, the provision of an appropriate role model by the parent, perhaps the clear expression of the value of pure need achievement by the parent in contrast to the expression of the importance of public approval and perhaps in the employment of "shaming" as a disciplinary technique in contrast to other love-oriented techniques [p. 172].

Sontag, Baker, and Nelson (1958) believe that the period between 3 and 6 years of age is critical in the sense that "the child who is emotionally dependent upon his parents during these years would appear to be establishing a mode of behavior which is not conducive to 'learning to learn'" (p. 138). Winterbottom (1958) has found that the mothers of achievement-oriented boys differ from the mothers of low-

⁵ In one carefully designed study (Strodtbeck, 1958), it was found that when socioeconomic status was controlled, there remained no visible differences between Italian and Jewish parents with respect to the evaluation of such achievement as was measured by a specially constructed scale. In view of Strodtbeck's conclusions concerning the high mobility of the Jews, it seems likely that the Jewish-Italian difference would have shown up with class held constant if the number of cases had been increased. (There were four cases in each cell of the design.)

achievement boys in that they tend to make achievement demands of their sons at an earlier age, reward achievement more frequently, and are more disposed to reward their sons for the boys' acceptance of restrictions.

On the other hand, Morrow and Wilson (1961), who conducted a study of school achievement among high-school students, did not find that parents of high achievers exerted greater pressure for achievement than did parents of low achievers, although parents of high achievers were reported to engage in "more sharing of activities, ideas, and confidences"; to be "more approving and trusting, affectionate, and encouraging . . . with respect to achievement . . . less restrictive and severe"; and to "enjoy more acceptance of parental standards by their youngsters."

Rosen and D'Andrade (1959) have studied the differences between parents of boys with high and low achievement motivation. They report the former parents to be more competitive and more involved in their sons' performance, to expect them to do "better than average," and to set standards for them when none is given. These writers have also examined the differentiation between the paternal and maternal roles with respect to the high-achievement boys. They found that fathers of such boys tend to be competent and thus provide an appropriate model for high achievement but they also tend to give the son autonomy and to give him hints rather than tell him exactly how to solve a problem. Mothers, on the other hand, tend to be much more involved emotionally, to be more dominant, and to expect less self-reliance in their relations with the high-achievement sons. In interpretation, the authors suggest that the mother-son relationship may be more secure and the father-son relationship more competitive and threatening to the son.

We have seen that achievement motivation has been studied with respect to such independent variables as social class, ethnicity, and the parental functions. It may turn out that the use of such occupational classifications as those noted in the preceding section will prove useful in explaining both occupational identification and achievement motivation.

A LIMITING FACTOR : THE CONSTITUTION OF THE CHILD

Every child has certain inborn characteristics which seemingly must influence the course and outcome of his identification. First and most obvious is his sex. Beyond this there are certain features of the child as an organism that will probably make one kind of identification more congenial to him than another. Escalona (1954) mentions sensitivity of the various sense modalities, activity level, and tolerance of tension. Agility, size, appearance, and the components of physique studied by Sheldon (1942, 1954) are other considerations that come to mind. The Gluecks' (1956) study of juvenile delinquents shows an association between constitutional and behavioral variables. Perhaps the techniques of electro-encephalography would be useful in registering relevant but otherwise inaccessible individual differences (Lindsley, 1957; Walter, 1953).

Physical characteristics as they relate to early and late maturing have been shown to be associated with marked emotional and psychological consequences. One study compared the protocols of 17-year-old boys who had been consistently accelerated in physical growth throughout adolescence with those who had been consistently retarded. The physically retarded boys were found to have more negative self-conceptions, feelings of inadequacy, strong feelings of being rejected and dominated, prolonged dependency needs, and rebellious attitudes toward parents (Mussen and Jones, 1957). Jones (1957) found similar contrasts between young adults (in their 30s) who had been physically retarded during adolescence and those who had been accelerated. Early-maturing subjects scored higher on the dominance, self-control, and responsibility scales of the California Personality Inventory; late-maturing boys scored higher on the flexibility scale of this Inventory. Early-maturing boys were also significantly higher in dominance on the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule, whereas late-maturing boys were higher in succorance. Faust (1960) reports that girls in a suburban community accord negative prestige to maturing (based on menarcheal age) in the sixth grade but high prestige in the three succeeding years.

There have also been attempts to link body structure to sex-typed behavior. Seltzer (1948) studied the relationship between masculine body structure and certain personality features in males and reports that sex-typed behavior is correlated with masculine body structure. However, another investigation in which both men and women were studied divulged no relationship. Bayley (1949) related Kuder M-F scores of subjects in the middle teens to their somatic androgyny scores, based on ratings made from rear-view body photographs. She concludes that masculinity-femininity of interests within a given sex is not correlated with masculine or feminine body structure.

Since our viewpoint here is that of social science, we have no theoretical interest in physical characteristics *per se*. The suspicion persists, however, that physical variables do account for some of the variance in identification, our dependent variable. In the context of this study, then, physical characteristics are regarded as factors that may limit the functioning of the independent variables in which we are directly interested. From the standpoint of research design, it may be useful to take such factors into account in order to know how much of the total variance in identification can be accounted for by other than constitutional variables.

7

Some pilot studies working toward measurement of key variables

The formal presentation of the theory of identification has been concluded, and the key variables (concepts) have been designated. The dependent variable, of course, is identification, with its various qualifiers. The independent variables are social structure and social function. The intervening variables are model, resource, and reward. In order to try to objectify and to measure these variables, this chapter will present the results of some pilot studies which represent beginning steps in this direction.

A PILOT STUDY ON THE MEASUREMENT OF IDENTIFICATION

The first of several pilot studies was undertaken in the spring of 1959. College students were chosen as subjects, first, because we thought it probable that further studies would concentrate on individuals whose identifications were fairly well crystallized in the form in which they would operate through much of adult life, and secondly,

because we believed it desirable that the Ss be articulate and somewhat reflective about their own psychic processes. These considerations plus their accessibility pointed to the use of college students for this study. Because the functionality of the family or parents was one of our principal independent variables and because the literature emphasizes the greater functionality of the farm family than of the urban family, we decided to include Ss from farm as well as urban families. To this end Ss were obtained from the University of Minnesota. Since in many kinds of problem socioeconomic status seems to have explanatory value, we tried to vary this as well, by obtaining Ss from the Chicago branch of the University of Illinois as well as from the Evanston campus of Northwestern University. Schedules tabulated were from about 250 white students of both sexes in introductory and intermediate courses in sociology at the three schools plus 17 white women in a home-economics course at the University of Minnesota. Ages ranged from 17 to 25.

Identification was conceived as: (1) product; (2) of all three types (similar, reciprocal, opposite); and (3) at a level of consciousness elicitable through written responses to a questionnaire. No specification was made concerning kind of identification—positional or personal—because this distinction had not been made at the time of the pilot study. Since we were working in the parent-child context, since two parental functions had been conceptualized (nurturance and control), and since these parental functions refer to reciprocal interaction between parent and child (the parent nurturing and controlling, the child being nurtured and being controlled), subtypes of reciprocal identification were conceptualized to reflect the two parental functions. This conceptualization implicitly made reciprocal identification of the positional kind, but this fact was not recognized until later, when the positional-vs.-personal distinction was made one of the specifications of identification. Such is the interaction between researching and theorizing, moreover, that the value of having scales to measure similar identification along the dimensions of nurturance and control did not seem evident at that time, and only a general scale of similarity was undertaken.

To measure similar identification, several items were used which

asked the *S* to indicate the person he felt he was most like. These items, together with the numbers they bear in the Family Life Inventory (Appendix A), are as follows:

- 81. The person whose interests are most like mine.
- 83. The person whom I most take after.
- 86. The person whom I most resemble.
- 88. The person whom I would most like to be like.
- 90. The person who does things the way I do.
- 91. The person who thinks the way I do.

Items used to measure reciprocal-to-nurturance identification were selected on the reasoning that nurturance means feeding, warmth, and emotional support; that these are gratifying; and hence that the offspring should have warmer feelings toward the more nurturant parent:

- 77. The person whose company I most enjoy.
- 78. The person whom I like best.
- 80. The person who best understands me.
- 89. The person I feel closest to.

Reciprocal-to-control identification was conceptualized in terms of the amount of influence of the one parent vs. the other:

- 79. The person who has had the most influence on me.
- 82. The person who has had the most control over me.
- 84. The person whom I most respect.
- 85. The person who has most directed my activities.
- 87. The person who has most affected me.

These 15 items were scrutinized to determine whether or not they might be adapted for use in measuring opposite identification. The approach was to try to phrase each negatively. Three of the reciprocal-to-control items (82, 85, 87) did not appear to be readily convertible. (For example, 85 became "the person who has least directed my activities.") The other 12 items seemed suitable for this purpose. Thus, in terms of operation, opposite identification came to mean the negative of similar and of two kinds of reciprocal identification.

The items for similar and reciprocal identification were presented in a randomized order, and the *S* was asked to respond to each item twice. The first time he chose the appropriate person from a list of 24 "possible responses," including roles in the "immediate family" (e.g., mother, brother), among "other relatives" (e.g., grandmother, cousin), "other adults" (e.g., teacher, clergyman), and "peers" (e.g., boy friend). On his second run-through the *S* was asked to indicate which of his parents better fit each item description. For the 12 opposite items the *S* was instructed to choose among his nuclear ("immediate family") or extended ("relatives") family for the person who best fit the descriptions.

To determine whether or not there was empirical justification for the conceptualization of the types of identification, a factor analysis of the responses to these items was planned. Two considerations bore practically on the way in which it was carried out. First, there were so few "father" and "mother" responses to the opposite items that it was not possible—because of very uneven marginal frequencies—to put these items into usable fourfold ("yes-no") tables of contingency. Because of this, the only way in which opposite identification with each parent could be measured was to use the number of mentions each parent received in the opposite items from each *S*. The other practical consideration arose from the question as to whether to pool the sexes of *Ss* into a single factor analysis or to treat them separately. The items were correlated (tetrachoric) separately for the sexes. By a crude test of significance, it appeared that more than two thirds of the correlations of the sexes differed significantly from each other, and separate factor analyses were therefore carried out. After orthogonal rotations of three derived factors by the varimax criterion (Kaiser, 1960), the rotated matrices were examined to see above what absolute value of loading it would be possible to have each item load on one and only one factor. This critical value was .534.

In general the hypothesized dimensions of identification stood up as they were built into the operation. The results of the factor analysis did, however, call for some changes in the classification of the items. Item 88, "the person whom I would most like to be like," dropped out of similar identification and moved into reciprocal-to-nurturance identi-

fication,¹ while for females only, item 80, "the person who best understands me," became a member of the similar-identification cluster. Reciprocal-to-nurturance identification also acquired item 84, "the person whom I most respect," from reciprocal-to-control. Thus the factor analysis gave the following results:

Similar identification

For both sexes:

- 81. The person whose interests are most like mine.
- 83. The person whom I most take after.
- 86. The person whom I most resemble.
- 90. The person who does things the way I do.
- 91. The person who thinks the way I do.

For females only:

- 80. The person who best understands me.

Reciprocal-to-nurturance identification

For both sexes:

- 77. The person whose company I most enjoy.
- 78. The person whom I like the best.
- 84. The person whom I most respect.
- 88. The person whom I would most like to be like.
- 89. The person whom I feel closest to.

For males only:

- 80. The person who best understands me.

Reciprocal-to-control identification

For both sexes:

- 79. The person who has had the most influence on me.
- 82. The person who has had the most control over me.
- 85. The person who has most directed my activities.
- 87. The person who has most affected me.

The fact that the critical values of a loading had to be as high as .534 to get nonoverlapping clusters suggests some correlation among the three factors. In the rotated matrix for each sex there was one and

¹ For males, however, this item did load .45 on similar identification.

only one loading above .534 on each of the 15 items. Of the remaining 30 loadings for these items there were four for each sex which were above .4. Three in the male matrix and all four in the female matrix pointed to a positive correlation between the factors representing similar and reciprocal-to-nurturance identification. The magnitude of this association may be estimated in column 1 of Table 4.

Table 5 reveals that for males, but not for females, the mean level of similar identification is significantly higher with parents of the same sex than with parents of the opposite sex. With respect to reciprocal identification, males report both kinds in roughly equal degrees to both parents. Females report significantly more reciprocal-to-control identifications with their mothers than with their fathers.

Table 6 shows the differences in mean level of type of identification with respect to each parent for Ss of each sex. Again, the expected differences in similar identification are shown to be statistically significant. Somewhat greater reciprocal identification of both categories of content is reported toward fathers by sons than by daughters; toward mothers the sexes show no significant difference in the nurturant and controlling subtypes of reciprocal identification. The meaning of the results on reciprocal identification is not clear.

Table 4. Intercorrelations Among Types and Subtypes of Identification, by Sex of Offspring and of Parent

	<i>Opp & Sim</i>	<i>Sim & Rec-Nur</i>	<i>Opp & Rec-Nur</i>	<i>Sim & Rec-Con</i>	<i>Opp & Rec-Con</i>	<i>Rec-Nur & Rec-Con</i>
Male offspring (N = 142)						
Father	-.18	.43	-.20	.25	-.19	.36
Mother	-.16	.43	-.11	.34	-.06	.32
Female offspring (N = 117)						
Father	-.30	.52	-.27	.27	-.04	.41
Mother	-.09	.45	-.13	.21	.07	.37
Range	-.30--.09	.43-.52	-.27--.11	.21-.34	-.19-.07	.32-.41

Table 5. Mean Identification Scores with Respect to Sex of Parent, by Sex of Subject and Type of Identification

	<i>Father</i>	<i>Mother</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i> <*
Male offspring (N = 142)				
Similar identification	4.66	2.28	6.33	.01
Reciprocal-to-nurturance	3.53	3.15	1.00	
Reciprocal-to-control	3.75	3.98	— .44	
Female offspring (N = 117)				
Similar	3.18	4.08	—1.89	
Reciprocal-to-nurturance	2.76	3.50	—1.70	
Reciprocal-to-control	2.70	4.78	—3.34	.01

* The significance tests are based on the procedure for paired observations and a two-sided critical region. The score of each *S* with respect to each type of identification (and with respect to each of the two categories of content—nurturance and control—under the reciprocal type) was the sum of the items he checked for each parent.

Table 6. Mean Identification Scores with Respect to Sex of Subject, by Sex of Parent and Type of Identification

	<i>Males</i> (N = 142)	<i>Females</i> (N = 117)	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i> <*
Father				
Similar identification	4.66	3.18	4.48	.01
Reciprocal-to-nurturance	3.53	2.76	2.75	.01
Reciprocal-to-control	3.75	2.70	2.63	.01
Mother				
Similar	2.28	4.08	—5.63	.01
Reciprocal-to-nurturance	3.15	3.50	—1.25	ns
Reciprocal-to-control	3.98	4.78	—1.74	ns

* The significance tests are based on a two-sided critical region. Since there was variation between the sexes in the number of items making up the measures for the various types of identification, the obtained means and measures of dispersion were adjusted to a common base of five items. Because each item could be checked twice, the maximum score on each variable, after the adjustment, is 10.

Reflection on the items used to measure the various types of identification and on the data presented leads to the following observations:

1. *Similar identification.* Of the four types and subtypes studied, this type provided the fewest surprises. The one big surprise was that item 88, "the person whom I would most like to be like," dropped out to join reciprocal-to-nurturance. This result seems to warrant our *not* incorporating into our definition of identification, and certainly not into the similar type, any drive to simulate *M*. Moreover, this result raises a question about the empirical justification for Freud's distinction between love and identification. These items appear to measure *I*'s perception of his similarity to *M* but without reference to any drive on *I*'s part to simulate *M*.

2. *Reciprocal identification, nurturant content.* On reflection, it appears dubious that the reciprocal-to-nurturance items measure all that they ought to have measured. If it is reasonable to argue that warmth is a usual response to nurturance, it is also tenable to argue that succorance (Murray's term) or dependence in general or to a specific *M* is also a response. What the items seem to get at is: enjoying the other's company (77, 78), respect (84), wish to simulate the other (88), and possibly empathy (89). In other words, this set of items does not have face validity: our theory asserts that the reciprocal response to nurturance is dependence, whereas our items appear to measure warmth plus drive to simulate.

3. *Reciprocal identification, controlling content.* Here we encounter a temporal question. It has been implied that the information sought should concern the *S*'s present—i.e., as of the moment of responding. Yet the items are all past-oriented (e.g., "the person who has had the most influence on me"). It seems plausible that the person nominated on most of these items would be thought by the *S* to be a salient person who continues to exert influence on the *S*, but this is a point which should be checked rather than assumed.

4. *Opposite identification.* The small number of "parent" responses made it necessary to pool responses over the foregoing types of identification of which the 12 items are negative statements. From the small size of the correlations in Table 4, it appears that the scale, which is a

composite of these items, has little in common with the three preceding scales. What these items may measure is not known.

There are literally hundreds of ways in which our dependent variable—identification-as-product—can be operationalized. Let us speak of the categories of type, level, and kind (noted in Chapter 3) as formal elements. It will be recalled that there are three types (similar, reciprocal, opposite), three levels (which we might designate by the convenient psychoanalytic terms conscious, preconscious, and unconscious), and two kinds (positional and personal). This set of formal characteristics yields 18 combinations. Further subdivision would be possible. For example, we might differentiate the following ways of measuring similar identification of child with parent:

1. Perceived similarity to parent
2. Objectively demonstrated similarity to parent
3. Perceived similarity to parent as parent would like to be
4. Perceived similarity to what parent wants *S* to be
5. Desire to construct his family of procreation as facsimile of his family of orientation

It is with the prospect of cross-classifying formal categories by substantive categories that the number of combinations becomes almost limitless. The following list of substantive categories is suggestive but not exhaustive:

1. Nurturance-receptivity (including emotional dependence)
2. Control-submissiveness (including internalization of discipline)
3. Sex roles
4. Occupational choice
5. Achievement motivation
6. Values
7. Extro- and introversion
8. Activity level

Now it becomes somewhat clearer just what procedure would have to be followed in order to have an ideal measure of identification:

1. Specify the identification to be measured with respect to:
 - a. form: type, level, and kind
 - b. substance: nurturance, receptivity, sex role, etc.

2. Specify a particular *I*.
3. Specify a particular *M*.
4. Test *I* with respect to the specifications set forth in (1).
5. Expose *I* to *M* but to no one else.
6. Retest *I* with respect to the specifications set forth in (1).
7. Because the definition of identification includes the property that the modification of *I*'s behavior must be "more or less lasting," keep *I* in isolation for some time (several years?) and then retest once more with respect to the specifications set forth in (1).

Since it is clearly impossible to carry out such a program in a democratic society, a reasonable compromise with the ideal procedure would be:

1. Specify the form and substance of the identification.
2. Specify a particular *I*.
3. Ask *I* to designate the person or persons to whom he believes his own behavior is related, or by whom he believes his own behavior has been influenced, with respect to (1).

But since perceived identification (of which assumed similarity² is one variety) is *not* identification as here defined but only *prima facie* evidence of its presence, it is also necessary to

4. Test for the presence of a relationship between the behavior of *M* and that of *I*.

And hopefully conditions will allow scrutiny of the "more or less lasting" character of the influence through a:

5. Retest for the presence of the relationship.

MEASURING FAMILIAL STRUCTURE

Elements of familial structure measured in the questionnaire are listed below. The numbers of the relevant items in the Family Life Inventory appear in parentheses.

² For a presentation of the pitfalls in the technique of "assumed similarity," see Cronbach, 1955, 1958.

1. Parents' marriage
 - a. Unbroken or broken (7)
 - b. If broken,
 - (1) How: by divorce, separation, or death, and if by death, of which parent (7)
 - (2) *S*'s age at time of actual rupture (7)
 - (3) With whom has *S* been living (8)
2. Adults other than parents in household of family of orientation (Relatives, roomers or boarders, friends, other) (9)
3. Siblings (13)
 - a. Ages
 - b. Sexes
 - c. Any dead and, if so, when died
4. Serious illness or absence of either parent
 - a. Scale of presence-absence for each parent (not numbered, p. 9)
 - b. Circumstances (108)
 - c. Duration (108)
 - d. Arrangements, if any, for *S*'s care (108)
 - e. Working mother: *S*'s age, nature and hours of her work (14)
5. Division of parental authority (123-127)

If we bear in mind that the direct significance of social structure for identification is that it determines the roles whose occupants are available as *Ms* for *I* to identify with, then it would appear that there are three aspects of familial structure which are especially relevant. These are stated below in "elaborate-simple" dichotomies:

S_p: *parental*—two-parent vs. one-parent families (see "Family Life Inventory," items 6-8)

S_s: *same-sex siblings*—presence vs. absence of older same-sex siblings (see "Family Life Inventory," item 13)

S_k: *kinsmen*—high vs. low interaction with extended kin (This aspect of familial structure was investigated in a later pilot study. See Appendix C, "Inventory of Associations," and pp. 124-32 below.) Questions were formulated concerning activities which the investigators believed that urban middle-class kinsmen engage in on a

collaborative, cooperative basis. These questions were of two types: one type inquired how frequently S's family of orientation sought out kinsmen for specified types of interaction (borrowing equipment, going on vacations together, etc.); the second type inquired how frequently members of the extended kin group sought out S's nuclear family in these matters. An assumption was made that the ordinal scale representing the frequency of interaction on each item ("never," "occasionally," etc.) constituted an interval scale, and weights from 0 through 4 were assigned to all responses on this basis. It was thought that some check on the power of these items could be provided by noting what differences, if any, showed up among the major religious groups. The statistical analysis which appears in Table 7 indicates (1) that the families of Protestant Ss are considerably less disposed to interact with extended kin than are those of Catholic and Jewish Ss, and (2) that answers to the two sets of questions are highly correlated, which implies that direction of interaction is immaterial and probably reciprocal.

ATTEMPT TO MEASURE DEGREE OF FAMILIAL FUNCTION (FUNCTIONALITY)

Any attempt to set up a measure of functionality for a study of identification is subject to certain qualifications, as we noted in Chapter 4, page 40. From the reasoning there, it would seem that within fairly homogeneous strata we should work with either the religious function or the socializing-educational function. Since, at the present time, many Americans interpret questions about their religion as an invasion of privacy, we were led to study the socializing-educational function.

A set of items was constructed which referred to skills and ideas that might have been learned either within or outside the family. There were 32 "who taught you how to" items (including "bake a cake," "play baseball," and "clean your room") and 10 "who told you about" items (including "God," "love," and "the birth of a baby"). With respect to each of these 42 items the Ss were asked to choose from a list

Table 7. Mean Number of Interactions of Subjects' Nuclear Families with Extended Kin, by Major Religious Grouping and Direction of Interaction

<i>Direction of Interaction</i>	<i>Mean Number of Interactions (weighted for frequency) t</i>				<i>p</i> <
	PROTESTANT (<i>N</i> = 41)	CATHOLIC (<i>N</i> = 11)	JEWISH (<i>N</i> = 15)		
Nuclear family to kin	18.61	23.27		-3.03	.01
	18.61		25.73	-2.37	.05
		23.27	25.73	-0.87	ns
Kin to nuclear family	18.56	22.55		-3.99	.01
	18.56		25.07	-2.08	.05
		22.55	25.07	-0.81	ns
Combined	37.17	45.82		-2.65	.02
	37.17		50.80	-2.28	.05
		45.82	50.80	-0.88	ns

of candidates the person most responsible for teaching them. The list of possible teachers, which mentioned members of the nuclear and extended family, friends, clergymen, scout leaders, etc., was presented to each *S* on a 4 × 6 white card and appears in this volume in Appendix A, page 155.

An index of functionality was then constructed for each parent, for the parental dyad, for the nuclear family, and for the extended family. The functionality scores were made up in the following way:

Father: number of times *S* gave the response "father" in answering the 42 items.

Mother: number of times *S* gave the response "mother."

Parental dyad: father's score + mother's score + number of times *S* responded "parents."

Nuclear family: score for parental dyad + number of times *S* responded "brother" + number of times *S* responded "sister."

Extended family: score for nuclear family + number of times *S* responded with the designation for any other kinsman.

From Table I (p. 189) it can be seen that the results are what might be expected from a measure of the socializing-educational function in a society where the father is out of the home a good deal of the time: (1) the father is more functional for the son than for the daughter; (2) the mother is more functional for the daughter than for the son; and (3) both sons and daughters report the mother to be more functional than the father.³ It can also be seen that, with respect to socialization-education, families tend to be more functional for females than for males, or, conversely, males tend to learn relatively more outside the family than do females.

It is a common observation among sociologists that the modern urban family is much less functional than was the family of a century or two ago which led a more or less self-sufficient life on its own farm. It is less evident to just what degree contemporary farm families are more functional than nonfarm families. We noted earlier that *Ss* were sought at the University of Minnesota so as to include some members of rural farm families. The thought was that if the correlation should still exist which sociologists believe existed in bygone days, this maneuver would increase the variance in familial functionality. From this reasoning it would be expected that the mean familial functionality for rural farm families would be greater than that for other families. Table III (p. 190) shows this to be true for sons but not for daughters.

In this same pilot study, an attempt was made to try out the hypothesis that functionality correlated positively with identification of the offspring. Since, as we have pointed out, not all of the distinctions had yet been made concerning identification, this study involved questionnaire responses about identification-as-product with respect to similar, reciprocal-to-nurturance, reciprocal-to-control, and opposite identifi-

³ Table I does not show the level of significance for this statement, but $p < .01$.

cation. Analysis of the data from this pilot study and subsequent reflection on the operations led to two objections to the choice of socialization-education as the key function with respect to which the study of identification should be pursued: (1) The correlations obtained were quite small and marginal in significance. This outcome may have been a consequence of relatively small variance in the functionality variable. (2) Reflection on reciprocal-to-control identification led to the recognition that there was some tautology between this concept and that of the function of socialization-education. Both concepts denote a state of affairs in which one person, the *M* or teacher, affects in a more or less lasting way the behavior of another, the *I* or pupil. These considerations plus the qualifications noted in Chapter 4 led to the decision to abandon for the time being the attempt to make direct use of any basic societal function as the independent variable. It was decided, rather, to seek directly for rewards and models.

A PILOT STUDY TO IDENTIFY REWARDS AND MODELS

The general approach of a second pilot study was to find out what a class of *Ss* wanted. This study proceeded from the premise that an intensely thirsty man would be strongly attracted to a spoonful of murky water while a satiated man might be indifferent to a lake fed by mountain springs. If we are to study the influence of the control of certain resources on the behavior of actors, it is advisable to have some knowledge of the kind of goal or value that animates their behavior. Since American middle-class people are the most likely subjects for further studies, it is desirable to learn something of the goal-orientations of these people. Accordingly a small pilot study was undertaken on such a group.

Between their junior and senior years in high school, outstanding students across the country are invited to attend a summer session for "cherubs" at Northwestern University. Fifty-three male and 77 female students who attended such special summer sessions in music and in journalism during the summer of 1960 were the *Ss* of a pilot study.

They responded to a questionnaire called "Your Interests Survey" (see Appendix B).

The Ss were asked to answer, in some detail, questions concerning the activities that gave them satisfaction and why, the things that they would like very much to have, the possessions that they valued, etc. In addition, they were asked to indicate what they regarded as the five most important and the five least important items from a list of 30 designed to cover a variety of presumed goal-states or desired objects (e.g., being well liked by friends and associates; having a car of one's own).

In their free essays the subjects frequently spoke of the importance of having good relations with their parents; some expressed the wish for a more harmonious home life. Among the latter were a few who thought that financial problems placed a strain on familial relations, that if they could earn their own spending money or tuition for college their family life might be "better," "closer," etc. Many of the subjects emphasized the importance of doing well in school. A considerable number mentioned the importance of religion and participation in religious activities and the comfort they derived from a belief that they and their families were under God's protection. They spoke of the desirability of developing into a "better" person, of "expanding one's horizons"; they stressed the importance of "a job well done," of meeting stiff competition, and also of achieving "inner peace." Frequently mentioned avenues to such goals were a college education, increased reading, and particularly "helping other people." Generally speaking, material possessions were reported as important only if they had been purchased with money the Ss had earned or if they had been gifts from esteemed people. Among the girls, however, a frequently mentioned choice was a large wardrobe for college or for increasing their standing as a date. Boys occasionally mentioned physical involvement with girls as particularly satisfying, important, etc.

Following the section requesting the free essays was a set of 30 items which sought to get a rating of values from the adolescent respondents. The distribution of items found to be the five most important and five least important for each sex appears in Table IV (p. 191).

From both the free responses and the responses to the 30 items, it appears that there are two outstanding goal-orientations among middle-class high-school students: (1) career, especially for boys; and (2) not only being accepted but being approved and liked, especially for girls. Moreover, such remarks as "successful completion," "a job well done," and "developing into a better person" suggest an orientation toward a career which is intellectually (and perhaps morally) demanding and which affords opportunity for self-expression. It seems likely that this group is highly oriented toward occupations in the professions and the arts.

What is the significance of these findings for the study of identification? To some the interest would be in the past identifications which have led to the present goals of the Ss. In terms of our structural-functional formulation, however, our interest is chiefly in the implications of such goals for currently forming and future identifications. Thus we may ask: To what extent are the families of these young people instrumental in helping them toward their goals? To what extent do the youth see family members as instrumental? The answers to such questions will indicate the degree to which family members are in a position to control resources which the Ss report to be important. In other words, the responses of these Ss indicate that at their stage of development salient persons, or significant others, are not necessarily those who afford them immediate access to material goals but, rather, those who can guide them and facilitate their socialization into certain adult roles—roles which they anticipate will produce gratification stemming from achievement, service, and self-actualization. These data and the analysis thereof suggest that the Ss are cathecting, or are ready to cathect, intellectual, moral, and spiritual guides and that, from their age on, such guides will probably appear to them more often in the role of professor, chaplain, counselor, boss, and the like than in the role of parent.

It will be recalled that a central problem in the study of identification is to determine which categories of persons typically exercise which categories of "more or less lasting" influence. The pilot study just reported was an attempt to discover the goals toward which the

Ss were oriented. It then seemed in order to explore the answers to the following two questions:

1. In what relationships to *S* are the persons he regards as "having been most influential" in his life?
2. In what ways does *S* see these persons as having been influential in his life?

One of our major hypotheses asserts that identification is a consequence of function. The view of function as eventuating in a resource, the control of which puts one person in a position to become a *M* to another, suggested a relationship between being given resources and being influenced. It will also be recalled that the *Ss* who were asked what they wanted or prized in general listed material possessions only when earned or received from esteemed people. These considerations suggested a third question for this pilot study:

3. Do *Ss* give the the same answers when asked who has "influenced" them as when asked who "done things for" them?

With respect to the first of these three questions, a questionnaire (Form A of the "Inventory of Associations I," Appendix C) was devised which asked the *S* to list the five persons who had been most influential in his life. It was explained that the investigator was interested not in proper names but only in the relationships of such persons to the *S*. A list of relationships was provided which included kinship terms as well as the designation of other roles. The *S* was then asked to explain in a freely expressed response in what way each of these five persons had influenced him. The *S* was later asked to "think of the five persons in your life who have done the most for you," designating the roles of these five persons in the same fashion as he had done with the five most influential persons. To get some measure of the empirical difference, if any, between "having been influenced" by someone and "having had things done for one" by someone, an alternate form of the Inventory of Associations was devised. Because of the obvious risk that the second set of responses might be contaminated by the responses to the first task, it seemed advisable to divide the *Ss* into two aggregates and to ask one group to respond to the questions in another sequence. Thus Form B of the Inventory of Associations I asked the

Ss first to indicate five persons who had done the most for them, then the five who had had the most influence.

The questionnaire was given to an introductory sociology class at Northwestern University early in the fall of 1960. Eighteen male and 18 female members of the class took Form A, while 14 males and 19 females took Form B (see Table V, p. 192). About nine out of ten of our Ss listed fathers and mothers as among the five most important persons in their lives. More than half of the Ss mentioned some other family members as among the five. "Parent" and "other family" responses account for nearly half of all responses. The average *S* gave more than one response referring to peers. Virtually every *S* mentioned some unrelated adult, usually (about six times out of ten) a teacher. The other unrelated adults chosen included coach, camp counselor, scout leader, clergyman, and Sunday-School teacher.

We have remarked (p. 126) that the responses to the summer study suggest that adults in such roles as professor, chaplain, counselor, and boss were coming to be more important as *Ms* than were parents. At this juncture it appears that the question as asked in the Inventory of Associations I did not elicit evidence in support of this prediction, but of course the question was phrased in the present perfect tense. We shall return to this point when we consider the responses to the Inventory of Associations II.

First, however, let us turn to the third question. It will be seen from Table 8 that family members were mentioned more frequently in response to the "done-things-for" question, whereas other categories of role appear more frequently in response to the "influence" item. The discrepancies between the two columns are relatively small, however, and do not warrant the conclusion that any real difference exists.⁴ The following comment gives testimony that for at least one *S* the questions were empirically the same:

⁴ For $N = 69$ the standard error of a proportion with $p = .5$ is .06. Actually a more detailed analysis was undertaken as follows: First, the responses were classified into: (1) father, mother, and both parents; (2) other family and total family; (3) teacher, other unrelated adults, and total unrelated adults; (4) same-sex friend, opposite-sex friend, peers in groups, and total peers; and (5) persons not listed. Within the sex groups a comparison was made between

Materially it was my parents [who did the most for me], but it doesn't stop there because this is a basis for influence. No one else has "done so much" for me materially, and I can't separate the two concepts of "done for me" and "influenced me." They lead to the same answers.

Table 8. *Categories of Role Mentioned in Response to "Influence" and "Done-Things-For" Questions (S = 69)*

Categories of Role	"Influence"		"Done-Things-For"	
	N	%	N	%
Members of family	158	47	184	55
Unrelated adults	70	21	59	18
Unrelated peers	88	26	76	23
Relationship not listed	19	6	15	4
Total	335*	100	334*	100

* The number of responses to each question falls slightly short of five times the number of Ss (345), since not all Ss gave five responses to each question.

As is customary with free responses, answers to the second question in the Inventory of Associations I (concerning the nature of the influence) were difficult to classify. It began to appear, however, that there were two major points being made by the Ss: (1) the influential persons had caused them to change in some specified way (i.e., they were referring to the particular *content* of the influence); (2) the influential persons had brought about the change by some specified *means*. Under (1), moreover, it appeared that there were two broad categories of content: (a) influencing Ss to be oriented toward specified *goals, values, or ends*; and (b) influencing them to use specified *means* to

the responses to Form A and those to Form B for the "influence" question and also for the "done-things-for" question. Since interform differences proved to be nonsignificant, responses to the two forms were pooled, and tests were made for the significance of differences in the responses of the two sexes. Intersex differences also proved nonsignificant, and the responses of the two sexes were pooled to set up the test for the difference between the "influence" and "done-things-for" question. Again no significant differences appeared. There were technical difficulties which prevented a simultaneous test for all of these comparisons.

achieve their ends. A detailed classification of these aspects of influence appears in Table VI (p. 193).

Once the aspects of influence were classified, the next step was to try to construct an instrument which would elicit information about them. Accordingly, a questionnaire was designed to cover every item listed under "content of influence" in Table VI. With respect to these items the questionnaire was designed to cover the following questions:

1. Does the *S* believe that he shows the traits (e.g., altruism) strongly?
2. Does the *S* believe that anyone has influenced him with respect to these items?
3. If so, in what relationships to the *S* are these persons? For each trait mention the most important person, the second most important, and the third most important.
4. What is the most important (i.e., most influential) person like with respect to the trait in question?
5. Give the names of persons who can tell the investigator about the *S*—i.e., what kind of person the *S* is.

The questionnaire appears as "Inventory of Associations II" in Appendix D.

Late in the fall of 1960 this Inventory was administered to the same group that had responded to the earlier version. The items gave a good dispersion on the issue as to whether or not the *Ss* reported having been influenced at all. Ninety-seven per cent of the males reported having been influenced with respect to integrity whereas 3 per cent reported having been influenced to be passive or compliant. For females the range was from 92 per cent on four items (altruism, integrity, quality of performance, and the stimulation of educational interests) to 16 per cent on two items (not competing, and giving no quarter when competing). (See Table VII, p. 195.) The distribution of imputed influence among the various roles for the persons designated as "most influential" appears in Table VIII (p. 197). The

numbers are so small that it is a bit misleading to present the results in percentage form; nevertheless, at least two relationships can be seen in the table: (1) Both sexes attribute more influence to the mother than to the father on some items which pertain to interpersonal relationship—altruism, social sensitivity, and social skills. (2) Although the differences are not large, there are cross-sex parent-child relationships with respect to integrity and religious interest.

The data in Table VIII pertain only to the person designated as the "most important" with respect to each category. On some items a comparison of "most important" responses with those of secondary and of tertiary importance yields information of interest. With respect to "social sensitivity," for example, Table IX (p. 200) shows that whereas the Ss report that they rely chiefly on their mothers as most important, yet they give their fathers enough second-choice and third-choice votes to narrow the margin appreciably in the total number of mentions.

It is clear that much work remains to be done, especially with respect to section II of the outline in Table VI, which has not been developed at all. At present it appears that the Inventory of Associations II offers promise of performing the five tasks for which it was designed (see p. 130), and it appears that the first three of these should prove especially useful.

* * *

Now the following observations are in order:

1. To the Ss the most important things "done for" them pertain to guidance in the choice of goals and values and in the means to pursue them.
2. These "things" are subsumable under the socializing-educational function.
3. But at a conceptual level it is seen that the socializing-educational function implies a "more or less lasting influence," which has

been our guiding concept of identification. Hence there is conceptual overlap between the terms "influence" and "done things for."

4. The data show that the Ss gave largely the same answers to the functional ("done-things-for") questions as to the "influence" items.⁵

⁵ While this study was being conducted, Lucas and Horrocks (1960) published a research which undertook to ascertain the needs of adolescents by (1) using discussions in textbooks to cover the domain, (2) constructing items based on the needs mentioned in the textbooks, and (3) factor-analyzing responses of high-school students to the items. They obtained five factors which they identified tentatively as: recognition-acceptance, heterosexual affection and attention, independence-dominance with regard to adults, conformity to adult expectations, and academic achievement.

8

Some relationships among the key variables, based on data from the pilot studies

Our theory predicts relationships among our key variables: structure, function, model, resource, reward, and identification. In the process of working toward measures of these variables, data were gathered which can be analyzed from the viewpoint of such relationships. The results are to be interpreted with the understanding that the samples were small, quite homogeneous, and not randomly selected;¹ that the measures were not entirely satisfactory;² and that there were other considerations such as differentiate a pilot study from a formal test of a hypothesis. Having noted these caveats, let us see what the data may reveal.

¹ For this reason the tests of significance should be interpreted as resulting in gross indications rather than precise statements of probability.

² The measures of identification and functionality are discussed and criticized on pp. 111-19 and 121-24, respectively, of Chapter 7.

FAMILIAL STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION

It has been stated repeatedly that the antecedent conditions hypothesized to account for identification are structural and functional. Furthermore, it is theorized that the structure of a social system determines the limits of that system's functional potential. In other words, a relatively elaborate structure allows for more functionality than does a relatively simple structure. In the setting of the present problem, this means that, from the viewpoint of the offspring (ego):

1. A two-parent family can be more functional than a one-parent family.
2. A family in which there is considerable interaction with extended kinsmen can be more functional than a family in which such interaction is slight or nonexistent.
3. A family with one or more older siblings of the same sex as ego can be more functional than a family not having any older child of the same sex as ego.

As we saw in Chapter 7, the first pilot study contained a measure of familial functionality. The function was socialization-education, and the measure was stated in terms of responses to "who-taught-you-how-to" and "who-told-you-about" questions. We noted that this measure was less than completely satisfactory. Yet it may be useful to see what illumination that way of operationalizing familial functionality can shed on the structural-functional nexus.

The same pilot study provided data on the structural history of the parental dyad and on the sibling arrangement of the *S*'s family of orientation. Accordingly the study enables us to present some data bearing on points (1) and (3) above. As of the moment, no data have been gathered to relate functionality to familial structure when structure is measured in terms of interaction with extended kin.

In order to have the absence of a parent meaningful in the light of the function being considered, it seemed clear that the absent parent should have left *S*'s home some time before the moment of responding (at which time *S* was in college). For obvious reasons, moreover, it was desired not to have the absent parent replaced by a remarriage of

the remaining parent. To hold conditions as constant as possible and still have a few Ss remaining, it was decided to take only those whose fathers had died or left the home before the S was 10 years old. This set of requirements yielded an aggregate of five male and eight female Ss. The procedure for measuring the socializing-educational function was the same as that reported on pages 121-24 of Chapter 7.

The expectation that two-parent families can be more functional than one-parent (father-absent) families leads to certain predictions:

1. To compensate for the absence of the father, the mother should be more functional in one-parent families than in two-parent families.
2. The mean functionality of the father should be considerably less in father-absent families than in father-present families.
3. The differences among parental dyad, nuclear family, and extended family should reflect the reduced familial functionality consequent upon the absence of the father—i.e., the means for two-parent families should be significantly higher than those for one-parent families in these three categories of roles.

Moreover, if one were to predict which pair of columns—male or female—would show the greater differences in functionality between the one-parent and two-parent families, presumably one would choose the columns for males. The reasoning would be that since the father is the traditional identification figure for boys, the absence of the father should make the greater functional difference for boys.

The findings (Table 9) reveal that prediction (1) is borne out for males but not for females; (2) is borne out for both sexes; and (3) is borne out for females but not for males. Our *post hoc* interpretation runs as follows: Row 1 shows that for females the functionality of the mother is little affected by whether the father is present or absent, but for males the functionality of the mother is much affected by whether the father is present or absent. Row 2 shows that for both sexes, as would be expected, the functionality of the father is much affected by whether he is present or absent. Scrutiny of rows 3 to 5 shows that the hypothesized pattern appears for female but not for male Ss. Although the lack of support for the hypothesis among males may

result from the small number of Ss from one-parent families, the last three rows of Table I in Appendix E (p. 189), imply another answer—that in two-parent families boys report less functionality for their families than do girls, which means that boys are more likely than girls to seek instruction outside their families. Thus, although the absence of the father means a significant increase in the functionality of the mother for the boy and not for the girl, we still come tentatively

Table 9. Mean Levels of Functionality for Two-Parent and One-Parent Families and Significance of Differences, by Sex of Offspring

Function- ality of	Males				Females			
	TWO- PARENT (N = 142)	ONE- PARENT (N = 5)	t	p < *	TWO- PARENT (N = 117)	ONE- PARENT (N = 8)	t	p < *
1. Mother	9.24	13.30	-2.65	.01	11.76	12.76	-1.05	ns
2. Father	7.80	2.90	4.08	.01	6.50	1.50	6.85	.01
3. Parental dyad	19.79	19.40	.17	ns	23.33	15.08	4.10	.01
4. Nuclear family	21.59	21.20	.21	ns	25.22	16.64	4.56	.01
5. Extended family	22.25	23.60	-1.11	ns	25.91	20.00	4.44	.01

* Values of *p* are based on a one-sided critical region.

to the surprising conclusion that for the family the absence of the father reduces functionality for girls but not for boys. Of course, the tentativeness of the finding must be emphasized; not only are the *N*s small for the one-parent aggregates but we are talking about one kind of one-parent family and only one function.

The other hypothesis that this pilot study enables us to examine is that a family containing an older sibling of the same sex as ego is more functional for him than a family without such a sibling. Because it was felt that additional findings might turn up, a somewhat finer set

of categories was used than presence *vs.* absence of older sibling of the same sex. These categories, together with their frequencies, are as follows:

	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	
All of ego's older siblings are of ego's sex	24	18	
Ego has older siblings of both sexes	21	10	
Total having older siblings of same sex		45	28
All of ego's older siblings are of opposite sex	23	23	
Ego is oldest child	60	51	
Ego is only child	14	15	
Total having no older siblings of same sex		97	89
TOTAL NUMBER OF Ss	142		117

The expectation that families in which ego has one or more older siblings of ego's sex should be more functional than other families leads to certain predictions:

1. To compensate for the lack of an older same-sex sibling, ego will make greater demands on his parents for instruction. Hence for rows 1 to 3 (mother, father, and parental dyad) the means for offspring with same-sex older siblings should exceed the corresponding means for those without such siblings.
2. Where a sibling of the same sex is present, we should expect functionality of the nuclear (and also extended) family to exceed the level where there is no such sibling.

From Table 10 we see that for males prediction (1) is only partly borne out. In the absence of a same-sex sibling, ego does report greater functionality of the father, but he apparently does not increase his demands on his mother. For females the prediction is completely borne out.

Prediction (2) is closer to the heart of the theory. Rows 4 and 5 of Table 10 show that this prediction is borne out for males but not for females.³ It would appear that the girls come closer to maximizing the

³ To some extent, however, this finding is an artifactual consequence of the method of constructing the index. If we subtract values in row 3 from those in row 4 for female Ss, we find that females too make considerable functional use of older siblings of the same sex.

functionality of their families whether or not they have older sisters, but boys increase the functionality of their families when older brothers are present.

Table 10. Mean Levels of Functionality for Subjects with and Without Older Siblings of Their Own Sex, by Sex of Subject

Function- ality of	Males				Females			
	WITH OLDER SIBLINGS OF OWN SEX (N = 45)	WITHOUT OLDER SIBLINGS OF OWN SEX (N = 97)	t	p < *	WITH OLDER SIBLINGS OF OWN SEX (N = 28)	WITHOUT OLDER SIBLINGS OF OWN SEX (N = 89)	t	p < *
1. Mother	9.30	9.20	.00	ns	10.06	12.30	-2.83	.01
2. Father	6.96	8.20	-2.45	.01	5.14	6.94	-2.45	.01
3. Parental dyad	19.46	19.94	-0.57	ns	21.29	23.96	-2.78	.01
4. Nuclear family	23.81	20.54	3.14	.01	24.83	25.31	-0.66	ns
5. Extended family	24.35	21.26	3.21	.01	25.58	26.00	-0.66	ns

* Values of *p* are based on one-sided critical region.

FAMILIAL STRUCTURE AND IDENTIFICATION

With data from the first pilot study, it is possible to note covariation of identification with familial structure when the latter is stated in terms of (1) two-parent vs. one-parent (father-absent) families and (2) presence vs. absence of older same-sex siblings.

For Ss of both sexes, it is reasonable to expect a higher mean of identification with the father when he is present in the home than when he is not, and with the mother when the father is absent than when he is present. These relationships are examined in Table 11. There the only surprise is with respect to the similar identification of male Ss, and the surprise is not the direction of the data but merely the lack of statistical significance. Perhaps a larger sample of father-absent male Ss would produce significant differences.

The other structural dimension for which data have been gathered in this pilot study is the presence or absence of older siblings of the same sex. The only identification variable found to be significantly associated with sibship arrangement was reciprocal-to-control identification with father for males. Males Ss without older brothers show greater mean reciprocal-to-control identification with father than do male Ss with older brothers.

Table 11. Mean Levels of Identification for Offspring of Two-Parent and One-Parent Families: by Sex of Subject, Sex of Parent, and Type of Identification

<i>Type of Identification and Parent Involved</i>	<i>Males</i>				<i>Females</i>			
	TWO-PARENT (<i>N</i> = 142)	ONE-PARENT (<i>N</i> = 5)	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i> < *	TWO-PARENT (<i>N</i> = 117)	ONE-PARENT (<i>N</i> = 8)	<i>t</i>	<i>p</i> < *
Similar								
Father	4.66	3.70	.70	ns	3.18	1.88	2.89	.01
Mother	2.28	3.30	— .74	ns	4.08	6.25	—3.14	.01
Reciprocal-to-Nurturance								
Father	3.53	1.08	5.33	.01	2.76	.50	11.30	.01
Mother	3.15	6.41	—3.75	.01	3.50	7.00	—3.50	.01
Reciprocal-to-Control								
Father	3.75	1.00	2.67	.01	2.70	.16	7.94	.01
Mother	3.98	8.50	—4.39	.01	4.78	8.44	—4.63	.01

* Values of *p* are based on one-sided critical region.

H₈ (p. 53) proposed that functionality should be positively correlated with formality of relations between parent and child. To illuminate this hypothesis, Ss were asked how they addressed their parents (Appendix A, items 18 and 19). In general these items did not show much correlation with others, but one rather intriguing result did

appear with respect to familial structure.⁴ The males who reported that they addressed their parents formally also reported that both their fathers and their mothers were absent from the home significantly more than the parents of those who indicated that they addressed their fathers and mothers informally.

FAMILIAL FUNCTIONALITY AND IDENTIFICATION

From the first pilot study, there were data relevant to some previously stated hypotheses concerning the functionality of parents:

H₆

The more functional the parent, the greater will be the identification of the offspring with that parent.

H₇

To the extent that one parent is more functional than the other, the offspring will tend to identify with the more functional parent.

It will be recalled that from time to time we have noted the existence of some degree of overlap between the socializing-educational function and reciprocal-to-control identification. Because of the presumed built-in correlation, it is, of course, not appropriate to test the research hypothesis with a design calling for this function and this type of identification. The present test, therefore, will be based on similar and reciprocal-to-nurturance types of identification and the socializing-educational function. We shall also present some results which relate this function to reciprocal-to-control identification—not for the purpose of testing the research hypothesis but, rather, in order to get

⁴ Those who responded both "father" and "mother" (10 males, 6 females) were classified as addressing their parents formally; those who responded "dad" and "mom" or equivalents thereof (107 males, 71 females) were classified as addressing their parents informally. The remaining 25 male and 40 female Ss either addressed one parent formally and the other informally or else gave responses difficult to classify and were therefore excluded from the analysis.

some notion of the empirical evidence concerning the presumed built-in correlation.

H₆ asserts that offspring will tend to identify with functional parents. The hypothesis calls for positive correlations in the first two rows of both the top and bottom halves of Table 12. In general the data support the hypothesis: all correlations are positive. However, the corre-

Table 12. Product-Moment Correlations Between (X) Degree of Functionality of Each Parent and (Y) Identification of Offspring with Each Parent: by Sex of Offspring, Sex of Parent, and Type of Identification

<i>Parent and Type of Identification</i>	<i>Males (N = 142)</i>	<i>Females (N = 171)</i>
Father:		
Similar	.27**	.20*
Reciprocal-to-nurturance	.35**	.14
Reciprocal-to-control	.26**	.42**
Mother:		
Similar	.13	.18*
Reciprocal-to-nurturance	.23**	.16*
Reciprocal-to-control	.36**	.27**

* Single and double asterisks denote significance at the one-sided .05 and .01 levels, respectively.

lations are not very high, and there is one correlation for each sex which fails to achieve significance at the one-sided .05 level.⁵ (Al-

<i>Type of Identification</i>	<i>Males' s²</i>	<i>Females' s²</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
Similar with mother	4.60	7.67	1.68	<.02
Reciprocal-to-nurturance with father	6.01	5.00	1.20	>.10

⁵ The two nonsignificant correlations were checked to see if the lack of significance might be attributed to small variances. As the following data indicate, the lack of significant association between mother's functionality and similar identification with her by males might result from the significantly smaller variation for males on this variable. However, since there is no significant difference between the sexes with respect to the variances on reciprocal-to-nurturance identification, this reasoning does not explain the lack of significant association between this type of identification by females and father's functionality.

though the correlations in the rows for reciprocal-to-control identification are not conspicuously high, as the presumption of a built-in correlation would lead us to expect, still the two highest in the table—.42 and .36—are in these rows.)

H₇ asserts that the offspring will identify with the more functional

*Table 13. Frequency Distribution of Subjects Who Do and Do Not Register Greater Identification with the More Functional Parent, by Sex of Subject: Similar Identification**

<i>More Functional Parent</i>	<i>Identified with More Functional Parent</i>	<i>Males</i>		<i>Females</i>	
		OBS.	THEOR.	OBS.	THEOR.
Father	Yes	32	26.0	5	3.0
	No	7	13.0	3	5.0
Mother	Yes	23	18.3	52	49.4
	No	49	53.7	45	47.6
<i>Total</i>	Yes	55	44.3	57	52.4
	No	56	66.7	48	52.6
	<i>Total</i>	111	111.0	105	105.0
χ^2 (d.f. = 1)		3.91*		0.64	

* Each S was classified first on the basis of whether his father's or his mother's functionality score was higher. (All Ss were from unbroken homes.) Ss whose parents had equal functionality scores were eliminated from the analysis because the hypothesis made no prediction for these cases. Secondly, a similar classification was based upon whether or not the S identified with his more functional parent. A S was classified as not identifying with the more functional parent when he identified with the less functional parent or identified equally with both parents. The following example will show how the theoretical frequencies were derived: the theoretical frequency of a male S's identifying with his father when the father is the more functional parent equals the proportion of male Ss who are more identified with their fathers [(32+49)/111] times the number of males reporting the father as the more functional parent (32+7). A chi-square goodness-of-fit test was run on the observed total values (rows 5 and 6). Yates's correction was applied. Single and double asterisks denote significance at the one-sided .05 and .01 levels, respectively.

parent. The hypothesis calls for the observed frequencies in the "total yes" row of Tables 13 and 14 to exceed the theoretical frequencies. All four differences are in the predicted direction. For males they are significant; for females they are not. (Table 15 shows larger values of chi-square than either of the preceding analyses; this is consistent with the presumption of a built-in correlation.)

*Table 14. Frequency Distribution of Subjects Who Do and Do Not Register Greater Identification with the More Functional Parent, by Sex of Subject: Reciprocal-to-Nurturance Identification**

<i>More Functional Parent</i>	<i>Identified with More Functional Parent</i>	<i>Males</i>		<i>Females</i>	
		OBS.	THEOR.	OBS.	THEOR.
Father	Yes	24	17.0	4	2.2
	No	15	22.0	4	5.8
Mother	Yes	40	29.9	48	45.2
	No	32	42.1	49	51.8
<i>Total</i>	Yes	64	46.9	52	47.4
	No	<u>47</u>	<u>64.1</u>	<u>53</u>	<u>57.6</u>
	<i>Total</i>	111	111.0	105	105.0
χ^2 (d.f. = 1)		10.18**		.64	

* See footnote to Table 13.

Although for males the hypotheses that the functionality of the parent will give a better than chance prediction of the identification of the offspring are not completely borne out, still there is a systematic and instructive pattern of relationships. The predictions *are* completely borne out in the males' identifications with their fathers and in the males' identifications with the more functional parent. In the males' identifications with their mothers we see that maternal functionality does predict reciprocal-to-nurturance identification but does not pre-

*Table 15. Frequency Distribution of Subjects Who Do and Do Not Register Greater Identification with the More Functional Parent, by Sex of Subject: Reciprocal-to-Control Identification**

<i>More Functional Parent</i>	<i>Identified with More Functional Parent</i>	<i>Males</i>		<i>Females</i>	
		OBS.	THEOR.	OBS.	THEOR.
Father	Yes	28	17.0	6	2.6
	No	11	22.0	2	5.4
Mother	Yes	42	33.5	68	45.3
	No	30	38.5	29	51.7
<i>Total</i>	Yes	70	50.5	74	47.9
	No	<u>41</u>	<u>60.5</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>57.1</u>
	<i>Total</i>	111	111.0	105	105.0
χ^2 (d.f.) = 1)		13.12**		25.58**	

* See footnote to Table 13.

dict similar identification. The most obvious explanation is that the cultural pressure for sex-role identification operates to prevent a positive correlation with respect to similar identification. Thus the present study may be interpreted in a way to give comfort to those who are concerned lest suburban boys should grow up to be like their mothers.

But what about our female subjects? On H_6 the correlations between their identifications and parental functionality are low (.2 or less). On H_7 we see that the functionality of the parent has no power to predict the parent with whom the identification will be stronger. For female subjects these results provide little support for the hypothesis that a parent's functionality causes the offspring to become similar to the parent or to become warm toward the parent.

It has been hypothesized that the identification of the offspring will be positively correlated with the functionality of the parent. With respect to the measures used, this relation holds without qualification in

the son-to-father identification. It holds for reciprocal but not for similar identification in the son-to-mother relationship. With respect to females, the smallness of the correlations creates doubt that we have found anything at all. Three other possible states of affairs are: (1) there are other aspects of identification of daughters than those measured which correlate positively with the functionality of parent, (2) there are other functions than the socializing-educational which are more determinative of differences in the identifications of daughters, or (3) perhaps the general hypothesis is false for females and they form identifications in accordance with a quite different set of principles.

And what about reciprocal-to-control identification? In each of the four correlations and two chi-squares it has shown significance beyond the .01 level in the positive direction. In the case of the responses of the male Ss this is not very illuminating, but in the case of the females it stands out in contrast to the other forms of identification, which do not show consistent relationships with paternal functionality. Thus the evidence is consistent with the idea that there is some built-in correlation between the socializing-educational function and reciprocal-to-control identification.

We have noted that formality of parent-child relationships, as revealed in the offspring's manner of addressing the parent, did not correlate very extensively with other variables. Just one such correlation with functionality merits our notice. It was found that women who reported addressing their parents formally ($N = 6$) gave responses indicating that their mothers were significantly more functional (socialization-education) than did the 71 females who indicated that they addressed their parents informally.

9

Summary and concluding observations

IDENTIFICATION AS A CONCEPT

As the term is generally used, "identification" pertains to a central problem in social psychology—the more or less lasting influence one person exerts on the behavior of another. In the literature, however, this term has so many meanings that when it is used without qualification it refers only to an area of inquiry. When identification is to be used as a concept, it is desirable to make as many specifications as possible with respect to form and content. Four sets of distinctions are proposed with respect to form:

1. *Product or process*: "Product" refers to that behavior of the identifier (*I*) which is shown or assumed to be in some relationship to the behavior of the model (*M*). ("Behavior" in the preceding sentence is broadly construed to include aspirations and fantasies.) "Process" refers to the sequence of events which results in the product. It is the purpose of a theory of identification to assert useful general principles about the process.

2. *Type of relationship*: The behavior of the *I* may be interpreted as similar to, reciprocal to, or opposite from that of the *M*.

3. *Level of expression*: *I* may express the behavior which is seen as

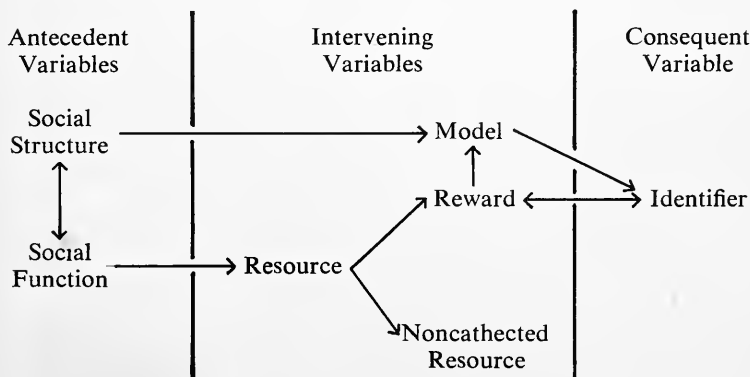
related to the behavior of the *M* at a conscious, covert but conscious, or unconscious level.

4. *Kind*: "Positional" identification refers to behavior acquired by the *I* which is interpreted as corresponding to one or more of the roles involved in some task-oriented social position through which *I* is related to *M*. "Personal" identification refers to behavior acquired by *I* which is interpreted as reflecting primarily an affective and non-task-oriented relationship with *M*.

With respect to the substance of identification, there is an unlimited number of possibilities. For example, one may be interested in identification with respect to nurturance-receptivity, control-submissiveness, sex roles, values, etc., or any combination of these. Moreover, a researcher may specify that *I*'s behavior relate to the actual (consensually validated) behavior of *M*, or to *I*'s perception of that behavior, or to *M*'s aspiration for *I*, etc. When all the possible combinations of these elements are taken into account, there are literally thousands of ways of conceiving of identification. This is why it is important to specify as precisely as possible what conception of identification one wishes to refer to.

IDENTIFICATION STATED AS AN OUTCOME OF STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION

The following diagram relates social structure and social function to identification:



Social structure, being a network of interdependent social positions with their constituents social roles (e.g., the family), specifies the number and nature of the social positions with whose occupants ego, as a member of the system, has occasion to interact. A *social position* is a location in a social structure which is associated with a set of social norms. A *social role* is a part of a social position consisting of a more or less integrated and distinguishable subset of social norms.

Social function refers both to an activity in which a group or one or more of its members may engage to produce some outcome (or resource) and to the outcome itself. Social function implies task-oriented interaction.

Model (M) is the person whose behavior influences in a more or less lasting manner the behavior of *I*, the identifier.

Resource is the outcome or product of the functional activity.

Reward is a resource which increases the probability that *I* will produce some given response.

Noncathected resource is a resource which is not a reward.

Identifier, as noted above, is the person whose behavior is being influenced in a more or less lasting way by the behavior of the model.

Social structure \longleftrightarrow *Social function*. This interaction is based upon the observations that (1) the size and other structural characteristics of a social system (especially the age and sex of the members) enable that system to be more or less functional (i.e., the structural features have a limiting or enabling effect); and (2) the more functions fulfilled in a structure, the more roles there are in that structure.

Social structure \rightarrow *Model* \rightarrow *Identifier*. Structure determines the roles which *I* has an opportunity to observe, to interact with, and to be influenced by.

Social function \rightarrow *Resource*. Differentiation of function results in differentiation of resource; volume of functional output determines volume of resource.

Resource $\begin{matrix} \nearrow \text{Reward.} \\ \nwarrow \end{matrix}$ *Noncathected resource.*

Not all resources are rewards. It is the response of *I* which determines whether a resource is a reward or is noncathected. Whether or not an

I cathects a resource—and, if so, how—is inferred from its effect on the probability of some one or more of *I*'s responses.

Reward→*Model*. When a person has control over a resource that another person wants, he is in a position to influence the latter's behavior. Control over the reward makes a person a model with respect to persons or a class of persons who desire that resource.

Model →
Reward ← *Identifier*.

From the foregoing argument it seems to follow that the model and the reward together constitute necessary and sufficient conditions for identification to occur.

Turning away from a schematic presentation, we can summarize this book by noting that it has been concerned with a general theoretical principle for which there is at present only the most fragmentary supporting evidence. Simply stated, our purpose is to explain the identification of the offspring as a consequence of social, especially familial, structure and function. Social structure specifies the number and the nature of the social positions with whose occupants ego has occasion to interact. Social function implies task-oriented interaction, an outcome of which is generally a resource of some sort. When one person has control over a resource that another person wants, the former is in a position to influence the behavior of the latter. This implies that the resource becomes a reward to the latter actor for his having performed certain relevant behaviors. From the latter's viewpoint, the former actor is a salient person or significant other. This is both a layman's observation and a corollary of reinforcement theory. In other words, structure specifies the position of *M* vis-à-vis *I*; function determines the reward *M* may use to influence *I*. Thus social structure and social function are the ultimate independent variables.

The scientific desideratum of parsimony places a high value on general theories. To explain the dependent variable, identification-as-product, as generally as possible, it was postulated that societal structures and functions were the ultimate independent variables. Five basic societal functions were postulated: replacement (familial), economic, political, religious, and socializing-educational. A basic societal func-

tion has the dual property of providing an outcome that is necessary for the continuation and welfare of a society and of being a resource that may prove to have utility for the individual. Functional analysis directs our attention to the important activities in a society and thus to the location of important potential rewards. Subsequent reflection pointed to the prospect that basic societal functions would prove more useful in intersocietal than in intrasocietal comparisons.

Do the difficulties outlined above lead to the conclusion that functional theory is not useful for the empirical study of identification? Such a conclusion seems premature, but the difficulties do lead to a conclusion regarding strategy of research. In studying identification, it appears to be a sound policy to use the basic societal functions chiefly, or only, in intersocietal studies and, when the design provides only intrasocietal observations, to concentrate on other social functions, including the parental functions of nurturance and control and the other familial functions of position-conferring and emotional gratification.

TECHNICAL OUTCOMES OF PILOT STUDIES

Pilot studies have been undertaken to develop measures of:

1. Conscious identification (whether overt or covert or both has not been determined)
 - a. Similar, without respect to content
 - b. Reciprocal, with respect to
 - (1) Nurturance
 - (2) Control
2. Familial structures, with respect to:
 - a. One- vs. two-parent families
 - b. Presence vs. absence of older siblings of the same sex as the respondent
 - c. Interaction vs. noninteraction with extended kin
3. Functionality, with respect to the socializing-educational function of:
 - a. Father
 - b. Mother

- c. Parental dyad
 - d. Nuclear family
 - e. Extended family
4. Degree of salience, with respect to some socializing-educational values, of respondent's significant others.

Reservations were expressed about some of these measures, especially with respect to certain measures of identification.

SUBSTANTIVE OUTCOMES OF PILOT STUDIES

Pilot studies have produced evidence in favor of the following propositions. (The function referred to in these propositions is socialization-education.)

1. The mother is a more functional parent when she is the sole parent than when there is a father in the household. (The reader may wish to translate this and other propositions into language closer to the research operations. Thus we may rephrase the clause "the mother is a more functional parent" as "the *S* reports that he learned more of the specified skills and ideas from his mother.")

2. When the father is absent from the household, girls show a greater tendency to go outside the nuclear family for fulfillment of the socializing-educational function than when the father is present; no such significant difference shows up for boys. It was suggested that boys tend to go outside the nuclear family to a considerable extent whether the father is present or absent.

3. The parent of the same sex is less functional to a child who has an older sibling of the same sex than to a child who does not.

4. In father-absent families, girls tend to be more like their mothers than in father-present families; this is not true of boys.

5. The more functional the family, the greater is the similar and reciprocal-to-nurturance identification of sons with their fathers, and the greater is their reciprocal-to-nurturance identification with their mothers. For girls the correlations are too small to permit generalization.

6. Males tend to identify with the more functional parent; evidence does not support the conclusion that females do.

Appendix A

Family life inventory

In an effort to discover something about the relation between the values people hold and the experiences they have had within their parental families, I am asking you to respond to the following questions. Please observe that you are not asked to sign this questionnaire. Thus there is no attempt to pry into your personal life. Rather, I ask you to give me anonymously the benefit of your experiences.

Robert F. Winch
Professor of Sociology
Northwestern University

1. College or University_____
2. School or College (within University)_____
3. Sex: Male_____; female_____
4. Age:_____years
5. Is your home in an incorporated area? Yes_____; no_____
- 5a. If "yes," name of city or town_____State_____
6. Are your parents (*Check*): Both living_____; mother dead
_____; father dead_____
7. Their marital status. If one or both parents are dead, give this
information as of the time of the death of the one who died first.
(*Check*) Married_____; separated_____; divorced_____
- 7a. If your father is dead, give *your* age when he died:_____
years.

- 7b. If your mother is dead, give your age when she died: _____ years.
- 7c. If your parents are divorced or separated, give your age at the time the actual separation took place: _____ years.
8. If your parents have separated or divorced, with which parent did you make your home? (Check) Entirely with mother _____
 Entirely with father _____ Mostly with mother _____
 Mostly with father _____ Other (please explain) _____
 About half the time with each _____
9. While you were growing up, did any other adults besides your parents (and older siblings, if any) live for a year or longer in the household of which you were a part? Yes _____; no _____
- 9a. If "yes," who were they? (Check) Male Female
 Relatives _____
 Roomers and/or boarders _____
 Friends _____
 Other _____
10. Have you ever lived on a farm? (Check) Always _____; sometimes _____; never _____
11. What was the religious background of your parents? (give denomination if appropriate)
 11a. Father _____ 11b. Mother _____
 11c. What is your religious preference? _____
12. What is your racial stock? (Check) White _____; Negro _____; other _____
13. Enter the following information for each of your brothers and sisters and yourself in order from oldest to youngest. Be sure to give the year of birth of all including yourself.

Place circle around number which indicates your place.

	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th
Order of Birth	Child	Child	Child	Child	Child	Child	Child
Year of birth							
Sex, M or F							
Year of death							

14. Has your mother worked for a salary at any time since you were born? Yes _____; no _____
- 14a. If "yes," how old were you when she started working? _____ years
- 14b. If she is not still working, how old were you when she stopped? _____ years
- 14c. What kind of work was she doing? _____
- 14d. What hours of the day was she away at work? _____
15. Please check the highest level of education completed by each parent:

	a. Father	b. Mother
Some grade school	_____	_____
Completed grade school	_____	_____
Some high school	_____	_____
Completed high school	_____	_____
Some college	_____	_____
Completed college	_____	_____
Some graduate work	_____	_____
Completed doctorate degree	_____	_____
Other (<i>please explain</i>)	_____	_____

16. What is your father's occupation? (If he has held more than one job recently, specify the job at which he worked for the longest period in the last five years. If he is deceased, unemployed, or retired, specify what his occupation was when he last worked. Please be specific—e.g., sales manager in a small local corporation, proprietor of a small retail business, vice-president of a four-man insurance agency, skilled laborer, sales clerk in a paint department of a large department store, etc.)
-
17. Select the one of the following remarks which *most* accurately characterizes your father's occupation. Place an "a" before it. Then select the one which *least* accurately describes his job. Place a "c" before it. Finally, place a "b" before the remark of "mid-dling" applicability:

_____ Work in which the most important condition for employment is the ability to establish and maintain cordial interpersonal relationships both among others and between one's self and others.

_____ Work in which the most important condition for employment is possession of technical knowledge and skills.

_____ Work in which the most important condition for employment is the ability to maintain speed or level of production —i.e., where the work requires completing a certain quota of work within a specified period of time.

18. What word or name do you usually use to address your mother?

19. What word or name do you usually use to address your father?

As a person grows up, he learns many things from the people about him. In this section we would like to know something about the people who helped you to learn how to do such things as drive a car or bake a cake.

From the "possible responses" listed below, identify the person who was responsible for your learning each of the following activities or ideas. Then place the corresponding letter in the blank before the item. If you think that more than one person was responsible for your learning the particular activity or idea, choose the letter corresponding to the person who was *most responsible*. Please do not leave any items blank.

POSSIBLE RESPONSES FOR QUESTIONS 20-103

Your Immediate Family

- a. Father
- b. Mother
- c. Parents
- d. Sister
- e. Brother

Other Relatives

- f. Grandfather
- g. Grandmother
- h. Uncle
- i. Aunt
- j. Cousin

Other Adults

- k. Teacher
- l. Coach
- m. Camp counselor
- n. Scout leader
- o. Clergyman
- p. Sunday School teacher

Peers

- r. Boy friend
- s. Girl friend
- t. Group of fellows (whether or not organized into a club or fraternity)

- u. Group of girls (whether or not organized into a club or sorority)
- v. Mixed group

Other

- w. Person not listed
- x. I learned about it from a newspaper, magazine, the radio, and/or television
- y. I don't know how to do this (don't know anything about this)

Who Taught You How

- | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 20. _____ to swim | 36. _____ to give the pledge |
| 21. _____ to read | _____ of allegiance |
| 22. _____ to sew | 37. _____ to mow the lawn |
| 23. _____ to bake a cake | 38. _____ to pray |
| 24. _____ to dance | 39. _____ to wash dishes |
| 25. _____ to clean house | 40. _____ to make a bed |
| 26. _____ to iron | 41. _____ to tie a knot |
| 27. _____ to drive a car | 42. _____ to play a musical |
| 28. _____ to ride a bicycle | _____ instrument |
| 29. _____ to fly a kite | 43. _____ to ice skate |
| 30. _____ to roller skate | 44. _____ to tell time |
| 31. _____ to play football | 45. _____ to play tennis |
| 32. _____ to handle a screw- | 46. _____ to clean your room |
| _____ driver | 47. _____ to play baseball |
| 33. _____ to change a tire | 48. _____ to row a boat |
| 34. _____ to ride a horse | 49. _____ to sing the |
| 35. _____ to count | _____ national anthem |
| | 50. _____ to fish |
| | 51. _____ to smoke |

Who Told You About

- | | |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 52. _____ God | 58. _____ the importance |
| 53. _____ love | _____ of cleanliness |
| 54. _____ the birth of a baby | 59. _____ the importance |
| 55. _____ the story of | _____ of cooperation |
| _____ Christmas | 60. _____ the importance of |
| 56. _____ how to get a book | _____ being successful |
| _____ from the library | 61. _____ the importance of |
| 57. _____ democracy as a | _____ always doing the |
| _____ way of life | _____ best you can |

Still using the list of "possible responses," put the letter corresponding to the person who best fits the following descriptions in the space before each item in column 1. *Please answer every item.*

Column 1 Column 2

- | | | |
|-----------|-----------|---|
| 62. _____ | 77. _____ | the person whose company I most enjoy |
| 63. _____ | 78. _____ | the person whom I like the best |
| 64. _____ | 79. _____ | the person who has had the most influence on me |
| 65. _____ | 80. _____ | the person who best understands me |
| 66. _____ | 81. _____ | the person whose interests are most like mine |
| 67. _____ | 82. _____ | the person who has had the most control over me |
| 68. _____ | 83. _____ | the person whom I most take after |
| 69. _____ | 84. _____ | the person whom I most respect |
| 70. _____ | 85. _____ | the person who has most directed my activities |
| 71. _____ | 86. _____ | the person whom I most resemble |
| 72. _____ | 87. _____ | the person who has most affected me |
| 73. _____ | 88. _____ | the person whom I would most like to be like |
| 74. _____ | 89. _____ | the person whom I feel closest to |

75. _____ 90. _____ the person who does things the way I do
76. _____ 91. _____ the person who thinks the way I do

Now go through the list again comparing your mother and father only. Put an "a" in column 2 in the space before the item if it applies more to your *father* than to your mother. Put "b" in column 2 in the space before the item if it applies more to your *mother* than to your father.

Still using the card of possible responses but referring only to "your immediate family" and "other relatives," put the letter corresponding to the person who best fits the following descriptions in the space before each item.

92. _____ the person whose company I least enjoy
93. _____ the person whom I like least
94. _____ the person whose influence I have most actively resisted
95. _____ the person whose interests are least like mine
96. _____ the person whom I least take after
97. _____ the person who misunderstands me the most
98. _____ the person whom I least respect
99. _____ the person whom I least resemble
100. _____ the person whom I would least like to be like
101. _____ the person toward whom I feel most distant
102. _____ the person who does things most differently from the way I do
103. _____ the person who thinks most differently from the way I do
104. The following question is *for females only*.
Ten years from now would you like to be:
_____ a. a housewife with no children
_____ b. a housewife with one or more children
_____ c. an unmarried career woman
_____ d. a married career woman without children
_____ e. a married career woman with children
_____ f. none of the above (*please explain*)

105. The following question is *for both sexes*. Assuming that ten years from now you will be gainfully employed, please state the occupation you would most like to be in. Please be specific—e.g., industrial designer for a large corporation, free-lance commercial artist, sales manager of a retail business, private-school elementary-grades teacher. _____
106. What occupation do you think it most probable that you will *actually* be in ten years from now (i.e., irrespective of the occupation you would *like* to be in)? _____
107. Which of the following aspects of a job appeals to you most (mark “a”), which least (mark “c”), and which middling (mark “b”)?
- _____ Using technical knowledge and skills
 - _____ Establishing and maintaining cordial interpersonal relationships both among others and between one’s self and others.
 - _____ Maintaining speed or level of production—completing a certain quota of work within a specified period of time.
108. Was either of your parents ever seriously ill or absent from the home for months or years (because of military service, job, separation, divorce, death, etc.)? Yes _____; no _____
- 108a. If “yes” please indicate circumstances below.
- _____
- 108b. How long did the illness or separation last (in months or years)? _____
- 108c. How old were you at the time (give age range)? _____
- 108d. What special arrangements, if any, were made to provide for you (e.g., were you brought up in your home by your maternal grandmother, by a stepmother, brought up in her home by a paternal aunt, by a friend of the family, sent away to boarding school, etc.)? _____

In this section please indicate to what extent each item applies to each parent in the years when you were growing up. Please use the following scale:

- 0—definitely does not apply, something this parent would never do
 1—applies only a little, happened only occasionally
 2—applies fairly well, happened fairly often but not regularly
 3—applies well, a usual thing with this parent
 4—applies strongly, outstanding in this parent

Put a circle around the rating that applies to each parent. Notice that the *father* is rated *first*. *Do not give the same rating to each parent unless they are really both the same.* We are particularly interested in how one parent differs from the other. *Be sure to circle a rating for each parent on every item—first father, then mother.*

Father	Mother	
0 1 2 3 4	0 1 2 3 4	109. Home for lunch
0 1 2 3 4	0 1 2 3 4	110. Away from home and children on the weekends
0 1 2 3 4	0 1 2 3 4	111. Out in the evening at least two nights a week
0 1 2 3 4	0 1 2 3 4	112. Home afternoons when children came home from school
0 1 2 3 4	0 1 2 3 4	113. Away from home and children for weeks and months at a time
0 1 2 3 4	0 1 2 3 4	114. Had breakfast with family and children
0 1 2 3 4	0 1 2 3 4	115. Missed supper with children at least two nights a week
0 1 2 3 4	0 1 2 3 4	116. Away from home for days at a time
0 1 2 3 4	0 1 2 3 4	117. Home all day with family and children

Now, we are interested in finding out how families differ in the things that each parent does in the home. For each question below, pick the answer that best describes the way things have been in your family over the past ten or twelve years. Check only *one answer* for each question.

118. Which parent took care of meals (cooking, setting and clearing table, washing dishes, etc.)?
- _____ a. Mother did most or all of it, father never took part.
 - _____ b. Mother did most of it, father helped a little bit.
 - _____ c. Both did a lot, but mother did more than father.
 - _____ d. Both did about an equal amount.
 - _____ e. Both did a lot, but father did more than mother.
 - _____ f. Father did most of it, mother helped out only a little.
 - _____ g. Father did most or all of it, mother never took part.
 - _____ h. Someone else did most of it (other adults, children, servants, etc.).
 - _____ i. Neither parent did it.
119. Which parent did most of the daily housework (sweeping, vacuuming, dusting, scrubbing floors, washing and ironing clothes, making beds, etc.)?
- _____ a. Mother did most or all of it, father never took part.
 - _____ b. Mother did most of it, father helped a little bit.
 - _____ c. Both did a lot, but mother did more than father.
 - _____ d. Both did about an equal amount.
 - _____ e. Both did a lot, but father did more than mother.
 - _____ f. Father did most of it, mother helped out only a little.
 - _____ g. Father did most or all of it, mother never took part.
 - _____ h. Someone else did most of it (other adults, children, servants, etc.).
 - _____ i. Neither parent did it.
120. Which parent did most of the chores such as mowing lawn, shoveling snow, taking out trash or garbage, moving heavy boxes or furniture, etc.?
- _____ a. Mother did most or all of it, father never took part.
 - _____ b. Mother did most of it, father helped a little bit.
 - _____ c. Both did a lot, but mother did more than father.
 - _____ d. Both did about an equal amount.
 - _____ e. Both did a lot, but father did more than mother.
 - _____ f. Father did most of it, mother helped out only a little.
 - _____ g. Father did most or all of it, mother never took part.

- _____h. Someone else did most of it (other adults, children, servants, etc.).
- _____i. Neither parent did it.
121. Which parent did most of the odd jobs and minor repairs around the place (fixing leaky faucets, extension cords, inside painting, repairing furniture, toys, etc.)?
- _____a. Mother did most or all of it, father never took part.
- _____b. Mother did most of it, father helped a little bit.
- _____c. Both did a lot, but mother did more than father.
- _____d. Both did about an equal amount.
- _____e. Both did a lot, but father did more than mother.
- _____f. Father did most of it, mother helped out only a little.
- _____g. Father did most or all of it, mother never took part.
- _____h. Someone else did most of it (other adults, children, servants, etc.).
- _____i. Neither parent did it.
122. Which parent took care of the children (got them up and put them to bed, helped with dressing, arranged for visits to doctor and friends, talked with teachers, went to PTA, etc.)?
- _____a. Mother did most or all of it, father never took part.
- _____b. Mother did most of it, father helped a little bit.
- _____c. Both did a lot, but mother did more than father.
- _____d. Both did about an equal amount.
- _____e. Both did a lot, but father did more than mother.
- _____f. Father did most of it, mother helped out only a little.
- _____g. Father did most or all of it, mother never took part.
- _____h. Someone else did most of it (other adults, children, servants, etc.).
- _____i. Neither parent did it.
123. Who in your family really has had the final say about how the family income is spent?
- _____a. Really up to father.
- _____b. Mainly up to father, but mother's opinion has counted a lot.
- _____c. Both parents about equal, but a little more up to father.

- _____d. Both parents *exactly* equal.
- _____e. Both parents about equal, but a little more up to mother.
- _____f. Mainly up to mother, but father's opinion has counted a lot.
- _____g. Really up to mother.
- _____h. Mainly up to somebody else besides parents.

124. Who in your family really has had the final say about how the house is run (use of rooms, arrangement of furniture, picking home appliances, interior decorating, etc.)?

- _____a. Really up to father.
- _____b. Mainly up to father, but mother's opinion has counted a lot.
- _____c. Both parents about equal, but a little more up to father.
- _____d. Both parents *exactly* equal.
- _____e. Both parents about equal, but a little more up to mother.
- _____f. Mainly up to mother, but father's opinion has counted a lot.
- _____g. Really up to mother.
- _____h. Mainly up to somebody else besides parents.

125. Who in your family has had the final say about *your parents'* social and recreational activities (when to have company, whom to invite, what invitations to accept, whether and where to go out for the evening, where to go on an outing or a vacation, etc.)?

- _____a. Really up to father.
- _____b. Mainly up to father, but mother's opinion has counted a lot.
- _____c. Both parents about equal, but a little more up to father.
- _____d. Both parents *exactly* equal.
- _____e. Both parents about equal, but a little more up to mother.
- _____f. Mainly up to mother, but father's opinion has counted a lot.

- _____g. Really up to mother.
- _____h. Mainly up to somebody else besides parents.
126. Who in your family really has had the final say about things concerning the children (discipline, staying out late, getting special privileges, etc.)?
- _____a. Really up to father.
- _____b. Mainly up to father, but mother's opinion has counted a lot.
- _____c. Both parents about equal, but a little more up to father.
- _____d. Both parents *exactly* equal.
- _____e. Both parents about equal, but a little more up to mother.
- _____f. Mainly up to mother, but father's opinion has counted a lot.
- _____g. Really up to mother.
- _____h. Mainly up to somebody else besides parents.
127. Families differ in many ways. In some, it is mainly the father whose interests are considered. His comfort and wishes come first. In others, the mother's wishes are more important. In still others both parents count equally. How would you say it was in your family?
- _____a. Father definitely more important. His comfort and wishes come first.
- _____b. Both parents' wishes and comfort important, but father's a little more than mother's.
- _____c. Both parents' wishes and comfort important, but mother's a little more than father's.
- _____d. Mother definitely more important. Her wishes and comfort come first.
- _____e. Both parents' wishes and comfort important, one no more than the other.
- _____f. Neither parent's wishes or comfort particularly important in our family.

Appendix B

Your interests survey

We are interested in determining the things that people your age feel are important, the things you want, admire, like to do, etc. We would like to know what your interests are, what things you value.

First, please answer the following questions regarding your background:

1. Sex: Male_____; female_____
2. Age:_____ years
3. Grade in school:_____
4. Residence: _____
5. Are your parents (*check*): Both living_____; mother dead _____; father dead_____. Their marital status. (If one or both parents are dead, give this information as of the time of the one who died first.) Married_____; separated_____; divorced_____
6. What is your father's occupation? _____
7. Assuming that ten years from now you will be gainfully employed, please state the occupation you would most like to be in. Please be specific—e.g., industrial designer for a large corporation, freelance commercial artist, sales manager of a retail business, private-school elementary-grades teacher._____

8. The following question is *for females only*:

Ten years from now would you like to be:

- _____a. a housewife with no children
 - _____b. a housewife with one or more children
 - _____c. an unmarried career woman
 - _____d. a married career woman without children
 - _____e. a married career woman with children
 - _____f. none of the above (*please explain*)
-

For Both Sexes:

1. Please describe three or four things which you do that bring you a great deal of pleasure and satisfaction.
2. What would you say makes a thing important to you? What are some of these important things?
3. Are there things that you do not have that you would very much like to have? What are they? Why do you want these things?
4. Suppose that you were given an opportunity to get something you really wanted and suppose that there were no limitations imposed—you could choose anything you desired. What would your choice be? Why?
5. Please name some of your possessions that are very valuable to you. Indicate how you got those things. Did someone give them to you? If so, who?

The following list is of various things that people feel are important. Please choose from this list 5 things that are very important to you and 5 things that are not important to you at all. *Circle* the numbers of your "important" choices. *Cross out* the numbers of your "unimportant" choices.

Then, in the space provided below, indicate the statement that best describes the one *most important* thing of the five you have chosen.

1. Doing well at sports activities
2. Being able to buy classical records
3. Having my own telephone
4. Being "socially at ease"
5. Getting along well with my parents
6. Having a job that provides me with my own spending money
7. Being able to go to the college of my choice
8. Knowing many people of the other sex
9. Being able to bring friends into my home for parties
10. Being able to buy books
11. Having my own library
12. Getting established in a career
13. Doing well at school
14. Meeting people of the sort one would want to marry
15. Having a "steady" date
16. Having a room of my own
17. Being well liked by my friends and associates
18. Being able to travel
19. Having a car of my own
20. Having a job that provides experience for the occupation of my choice
21. Being able to buy popular records
22. Having many friends
23. Having a hobby
24. Being a member of clubs and organizations
25. Having access to the family car
26. Being off by myself at times

27. Having parental approval of my goals
28. Being able to buy the clothes I want
29. Owning a phonograph
30. Meeting people who can prove helpful in advancing my career

My *most important* choice is:_____

Appendix C

Inventory of associations I

Sex: (Circle) Male
Female

FORM A*

Part I

We are interested in discovering some of the things you think about people who have influenced you.

- I. Please think of the five persons who have been most *influential* in your life. Our interest is not in knowing their identities. Rather, we should like to be informed concerning their relationship to you. We suggest that for each of the five persons who come to mind you write a set of initials (or make some other notation to serve you as a reminder) on one of the lines below.

Relationship

Person A _____
Person B _____
Person C _____
Person D _____
Person E _____

* In Form B, which was administered to half of the Ss, question IV preceded I, and questions II and III asked the respondent to explain what the persons selected had done for him.

Now from the list below locate the relationship to you of each of the persons you have chosen and write the relationship in the space provided above.

Your Immediate Family

Father
Stepfather
Mother
Stepmother
Sister
Sister-in-law
Brother
Brother-in-law
Husband
Wife

Other Relatives

Grandfather
Grandmother
Uncle
Aunt
Cousin

Other Adults

Teacher
Coach
Camp counselor
Scout leader
Clergyman
Sunday School teacher

Peers

Boy friend
Girl friend
Group of fellows (whether or not organized into a club or fraternity)
Group of girls (whether or not organized into a club or sorority)
Mixed group
Other
Person not listed

II. For each person mentioned above, please explain how he or she has influenced you.

III. For each pair below, please indicate which person has influenced you more. (To help you make your choice, keep in mind a typical situation in which each person in each pair has influenced you.) Circle the appropriate letter for each pair.

Presumably you have been reflecting on the way in which each of the five persons has influenced you and your life. To some extent you

have indicated *how* in your response to question II. It would be appreciated if you would write below any further thoughts you may have as to how or why each person circled has been influential in your life.

- a. A or B _____
- b. A or C _____
- c. A or D _____
- d. A or E _____
- e. B or C _____
- f. B or D _____
- g. B or E _____
- h. C or D _____
- i. C or E _____
- j. D or E _____

IV. From the topic of influence we now shift to another question. Please think of the five persons in your life who have *done the most* for you, in either a material or a non-material way. Again, our interest is not in knowing their identities. Rather, we should like to be informed concerning their relationships to you. For this reason we suggest that for each of these five persons you write a set of initials (or make some other notation to serve as a reminder) on one of the five lines below.

Relationship

Person A _____
Person B _____
Person C _____
Person D _____
Person E _____

Now, from the list on p. 170, locate the relationship to you of each these persons and record it in the space provided above.

Part II

Below are a series of questions about your family's association with your relatives. By "family," we mean members of your immediate fam-

ily (i.e., parents and siblings); by "relatives," we mean all related people who are not members of your immediate family (e.g., uncles, grandparents, etc.)

For each question, check the appropriate response for the "a" part of the question in the space to the left; check the appropriate response for the "b" part of the question in the space to the right.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1a. Does your family share any of its household equipment (e.g., lawnmower, washing machine, dinnerware) with any of your relatives? | 1b. Do any of your relatives share any of their household equipment (e.g., lawnmower, washing machine, dinnerware) with your family? |
|--|--|

a. _____	Regularly	b. _____
a. _____	Frequently	b. _____
a. _____	Sometimes	b. _____
a. _____	Occasionally	b. _____
a. _____	Never	b. _____

(If for 1b you have given any response other than "never," does the relative to whom you refer live in your household? Yes _____; no _____)

- | | |
|---|--|
| 2a. Do any members of your family use the business or professional services of any of your relatives? | 2b. Do any of your relatives use the business or professional services of any member of your family? |
|---|--|

a. _____	Regularly	b. _____
a. _____	Frequently	b. _____
a. _____	Sometimes	b. _____
a. _____	Occasionally	b. _____
a. _____	Never	b. _____

(If for 2b you have given any response other than "never," does the relative to whom you refer live in your household? Yes _____; no _____)

- | | |
|--|---|
| 3a. Do any of the members of your family help your relatives with home repairs | 3b. Do any of your relatives help members of your family with home repairs (e.g., |
|--|---|

(e.g., painting the house,
fixing electrical equip-
ment)?

painting the house, fixing
electrical equipment)?

a. _____	Regularly	b. _____
a. _____	Frequently	b. _____
a. _____	Sometimes	b. _____
a. _____	Occasionally	b. _____
a. _____	Never	b. _____

(If for 3b you have given any response other than "never,"
does the relative to whom you refer live in your household?
Yes _____; no _____)

4a. Do any members of your
family borrow money from
any of your relatives?

a. _____	Regularly	b. _____
a. _____	Frequently	b. _____
a. _____	Sometimes	b. _____
a. _____	Occasionally	b. _____
a. _____	Never	b. _____

4b. Do any of your relatives
borrow money from any
member of your family?

(If for 4b you have given any response other than "never,"
does the relative to whom you refer live in your household?
Yes _____; no _____)

5a. Does any member of your
family work, or has any
member worked, in a rela-
tive's business?

a. _____	Regularly	b. _____
a. _____	Frequently	b. _____
a. _____	Sometimes	b. _____
a. _____	Occasionally	b. _____
a. _____	Never	b. _____

5b. Do any of your relatives
work, or have they worked,
in the business of any
member of your family?

(If for 5b you have given any response other than "never,"
does the relative to whom you refer live in your household?
Yes _____; no _____)

6a. Has any member of your

6b. Have any of your relatives

family helped a relative to
get a job?

a. _____

a. _____

a. _____

a. _____

a. _____

Regularly

Frequently

Sometimes

Occasionally

Never

helped a member of your
family to get a job?

b. _____

b. _____

b. _____

b. _____

b. _____

(If for 6b you have given any response other than "never,"
does the relative to whom you refer live in your household?
Yes _____; no _____)

7a. Has any member of your
family referred anyone to
a relative for business or
professional services?

a. _____

a. _____

a. _____

a. _____

a. _____

Regularly

Frequently

Sometimes

Occasionally

Never

7b. Have any of your relatives
referred anyone to a mem-
ber of your family for busi-
ness or professional serv-
ices?

b. _____

b. _____

b. _____

b. _____

b. _____

(If for 7b you have given any response other than "never,"
does the relative to whom you refer live in your household?
Yes _____; no _____)

8a. Has any member of your
family helped to finance the
education of a relative?

a. _____

a. _____

a. _____

a. _____

a. _____

Regularly

Frequently

Sometimes

Occasionally

Never

8b. Have any of your relatives
helped to finance the edu-
cation of a member of your
family?

b. _____

b. _____

b. _____

b. _____

b. _____

(If for 8b you have given any response other than "never,"
does the relative to whom you refer live in your household?
Yes _____; no _____)

9a. Has any member of your family co-signed a bank note for a relative?

a. _____

a. _____

a. _____

a. _____

a. _____

Regularly

Frequently

Sometimes

Occasionally

Never

9b. Have any of your relatives co-signed a bank note for any member of your family?

b. _____

b. _____

b. _____

b. _____

b. _____

(If for 9b you have given any response other than "never," does the relative to whom you refer live in your household? Yes _____; no _____)

10a. Does any member of your family help out at the home of a relative if someone there is ill?

a. _____

a. _____

a. _____

a. _____

a. _____

Regularly

Frequently

Sometimes

Occasionally

Never

10b. Do any of your relatives help out at your home when a member of your family is ill?

b. _____

b. _____

b. _____

b. _____

b. _____

11a. Has any member of your family asked a relative to go on a vacation with him or her?

a. _____

a. _____

a. _____

a. _____

a. _____

Regularly

Frequently

Sometimes

Occasionally

Never

11b. Have any of your relatives asked a member of your family to go on a vacation with him or her?

b. _____

b. _____

b. _____

b. _____

b. _____

(If for 11b you have given any response other than "never," does the relative to whom you refer live in your household? Yes _____; no _____)

12a. Do members of your family give birthday, anniversary,

12b. Do any of your relatives give birthday, anniversary,

etc., gifts to any of your relatives?

a. _____

Regularly

a. _____

Frequently

a. _____

Sometimes

a. _____

Occasionally

a. _____

Never

etc., gifts to any member of your family? •

b. _____

b. _____

b. _____

b. _____

b. _____

(If for 12b you have given any response other than "never," does the relative to whom you refer live in your household? Yes _____; no _____)

13a. Does your family go to the home of relatives to celebrate holidays together?

a. _____

Regularly

a. _____

Frequently

a. _____

Sometimes

a. _____

Occasionally

a. _____

Never

13b. Do any of your relatives come to your family's home to celebrate holidays together?

b. _____

b. _____

b. _____

b. _____

b. _____

14a. When your family goes on a vacation, do any of your relatives take care of pets, water the plants, pick up mail, etc., while you are away?

a. _____

Regularly

a. _____

Frequently

a. _____

Sometimes

a. _____

Occasionally

a. _____

Never

14b. When any of your relatives go on vacation, do any members of your family take care of pets, water the plants, pick up mail, etc., while they are away?

b. _____

b. _____

b. _____

b. _____

b. _____

(If for 14b you have given any response other than "never," does the relative to whom you refer live in your household? Yes _____; no _____)

15a. Do any members of your family bring pastries, spe-

15b. Do any of your relatives bring pastries, special

cial home-cooked dishes,
etc., to the home of rela-
tives when you visit them?

a. _____

a. _____

a. _____

a. _____

a. _____

Regularly

Frequently

Sometimes

Occasionally

Never

home-cooked dishes, etc.,
when they come to visit
your family?

b. _____

b. _____

b. _____

b. _____

b. _____

Background Information

1. Your name: _____ 1a. Age: _____
2. Are you married? Yes _____; no _____
3. Are your parents (*Check*): Both living _____; mother dead _____; father dead _____
4. Their marital status. If one or both parents are dead, give this information as of the time of the death of the one who died first.
(*Check*) Married _____; separated _____; divorced _____
 - 4a. If your father is dead, give *your* age when he died: _____ years
 - 4b. If your mother is dead, give *your* age when she died: _____ years
 - 4c. If your parents are divorced or separated, give your age at the time the actual separation took place: _____ years
5. If the marriage of your parents has been broken, is
 - 5a. your mother now remarried? Yes _____ No _____
 - 5b. your father now remarried? Yes _____ No _____
6. If your parents have separated or divorced, with which parent did you make your home? (*Check*)
Entirely with father _____ Entirely with mother _____
Mostly with father _____ Mostly with mother _____
About half the time with each _____ Other (please explain) _____
7. What was the religious background of your parents? (give denomination if appropriate)
 - 7a. Father _____
 - 7b. Mother _____
8. What is (was) your father's occupation? _____

9. Please check the highest level of education completed by each parent:

- | | a. Father | b. Mother |
|-------------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| a. Some grade school | a. _____ | _____ |
| b. Completed grade school | b. _____ | _____ |
| c. Some high school | c. _____ | _____ |
| d. Completed high school | d. _____ | _____ |
| e. Some college | e. _____ | _____ |
| f. Completed college | f. _____ | _____ |
| g. Some graduate work | g. _____ | _____ |
| h. Completed doctorate degree | h. _____ | _____ |
| i. Other (please explain) | i. _____ | _____ |

Appendix D

Inventory of associations II

Sex: (*Check*) Male _____
Female _____

Part A

We are interested in some of the traits which describe the kind of person you are. Please read each statement and rate yourself on each trait by putting a check in the appropriate column.

I have the trait:

	To a very high degree	To a con- siderable degree	To some extent	Not at all
1. Am cooperative.	_____	_____	_____	_____
2. Am pessimistic.	_____	_____	_____	_____
3. Give free expression to feelings; act in an intense, involved, and impassioned manner.	_____	_____	_____	_____
4. Give no quarter to anyone who is competing.	_____	_____	_____	_____
5. Enjoy periods of privacy and solitude.	_____	_____	_____	_____
6. Am kind and considerate, show altruism and the like.	_____	_____	_____	_____

- | | | | | |
|---|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| 7. Act in a cool, dispassionate, objective way. | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 8. Am extravagant. | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 9. Am responsible. | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 10. Am original, imaginative, creative. | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 11. Am optimistic. | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 12. Am socially sensitive and aware of the feelings and intentions of others. | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 13. Am thrifty. | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 14. Am fair and honest, show integrity. | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 15. Am resourceful. | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 16. Am outgoing, gregarious, extroverted. | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 17. Am active, energetic, and vigorous. | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 18. Have social skills and manners which facilitate interaction with others. | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 19. Take pride in turning out a performance of quality, in doing a job well. | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 20. Do not compete, am passive, compliant. | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 21. Use persistence and effort in achieving goals. | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |

Please indicate the intensity of your interest in each of the following:

I am interested:

- | | To a very
high
degree | To a con-
siderable
degree | To some
extent | Not at
all |
|--|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------|---------------|
| 22. Intellectual matters, books, important ideas, etc. | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |

- | | | | | |
|--|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| 23. An appreciation of the beauties of nature—landscapes, sunsets, etc. | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 24. Educational matters and the importance of higher learning. | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 25. A humanitarian point of view, the dignity of man, his welfare, etc. | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 26. Political matters, candidates, philosophies, issues, etc. | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 27. An appreciation of works of art, sculpture, architecture, literature, etc. | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 28. Athletic activities and sporting events. | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |
| 29. Religious matters, God and/or the existence of a hereafter. | _____ | _____ | _____ | _____ |

Part B

In this section we ask you to do three things:

- (1) Indicate whether or not you have been influenced in certain ways. (Check "yes" or "no.")
- (2) Indicate who you think are the three people who have influenced you most. From the list below choose the appropriate persons and put the corresponding numbers in columns 3, 4, and 5. (If only one or two people have influenced you, just indicate their relationship to you and leave blank the spaces in columns 5 and/or 4.)
- (3) Rate *the person* who has been the *most important* influence on you for each trait.

Your Immediate Family	Other Relatives	Other Adults	Peers
1. Father	11. Grandfather	17. Adult male friend	26. Boy friend
2. Stepfather	12. Grandmother	18. Adult female friend	27. Girl friend
3. Mother	13. Uncle	19. Professor	28. Group of fellows (whether
4. Stepmother	14. Aunt	20. Teacher	or not organized into a
5. Sister	15. Male cousin	21. Coach	club or fraternity)
6. Sister-in-law	16. Female cousin	22. Camp counselor	29. Group of girls (whether or
7. Brother		23. Scout leader	not organized into a club
8. Brother-in-law		24. Clergyman	or sorority)
9. Husband		25. Sunday School	30. Mixed group
10. Wife		teacher	
			Other
			31. Person not listed

If yes, who are the influential people?

If yes, rate only the *most important* person on this trait, these interests, etc.

Has Anyone Influenced You

	Yes	No	Most Important	Second Most Important	Third Most Important	To a Very High Degree	To a Considerable Degree	To Some Extent	Not at All
1. to be outgoing, gregarious, extroverted?									
2. to be kind and considerate, to show altruism, etc.?									
3. to be pessimistic?									
4. to be fair and honest, to show integrity, etc.?									
5. to be active, energetic, and vigorous?									
6. to be optimistic?									
7. to be thrifty?									
8. to be original, imaginative, creative?									
9. to be extravagant?									
10. to enjoy periods of privacy and solitude?									

*Has Anyone Influenced
You*

11. to give free expression to your feelings, to act in an intense, involved, and impassioned manner?
12. to take pride in turning out a performance of quality, in doing a job well?
13. to act in a cool, dispassionate, objective way?

- Has Anyone Influenced
You Through Stimulating Your Interest in*
14. intellectual matters, books, important ideas, etc.?

If yes, who are the influential people?
If yes, rate only the *most important* person on this trait, these interests, etc.

Yes	No	Most Important	Second Most Important	Third Most Important	To a Very High Degree	To a Considerable Degree	To Some Extent	Not at All
-----	----	----------------	-----------------------	----------------------	-----------------------	--------------------------	----------------	------------

15. political matters, candidates, issues, philosophies, etc.?

16. educational matters and the importance of higher learning?

17. an appreciation of the beauties of nature, landscapes, sunsets, etc.?

18. an appreciation of works of art, painting, sculpture, architecture, etc.?

19. religious matters, God and/or the existence of a hereafter?

20. a humanitarian point of view, the dignity of man, his welfare, etc.?

21. athletic activities and sporting events?

Has Anyone Influenced You by Showing That the Way to Achieve Goals and Values You Desire Is Through:

	If yes, who are the influential people?		If yes, rate only the <i>most important</i> person on this trait, these interests, etc.						
	Yes	No	Most Important	Second Most Important	Third Most Important	To a Very High Degree	To a Considerable Degree	To Some Extent	Not at All
22. persistence and effort?	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
23. social sensitivity and awareness of the feelings and intentions of others?	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
24. developing social skills and manners which facilitate your interaction with others?	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
25. being cooperative?	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
26. being highly resourceful?	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____
27. performing very responsibly?	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____	_____

28. giving no quarter to
anyone who is com-
peting with you? _____
29. not competing, being
passive, compliant,
etc.? _____

Has Anyone Influenced You

30. in your choice of occupation? _____
31. to aspire for higher status? _____
32. (*for men*) by exemplifying what you view as desirable
masculine traits? _____
(*for women*) by exemplifying what you view as desirable
feminine traits? _____
33. to act in a more mature fashion? _____
34. to derive enjoyment from friendship with a person of your
own sex? _____
35. to derive enjoyment from friendship with a person of the
opposite sex? _____

If yes, who are the
influential people?

	Second		Third	
	Most Import- tant	Most Import- tant	Most Import- tant	Most Import- tant
Yes	_____	_____	_____	_____
No	_____	_____	_____	_____

Now please indicate the relationship to you (put the corresponding number) of three people who you think could rate you on the traits which were listed on pages 179-80.

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

Your name _____

Your place of residence (city and state) _____

a. Please estimate the population of residence. _____

b. If you live in a suburb, please give the name of the metropolitan area in which it is located. _____

Please indicate whether or not you filled out the first form of this questionnaire [App. C]. Yes _____

No _____

Appendix E

Supplementary tables

Table I. Means, Standard Deviations, and Tests for Significance of Intersex Differences on Five Measures of Functionality

	Mean		Standard Deviation		t	p<*
	MALES (N = 142)	FEMALES (N = 117)	MALES	FEMALES		
<i>Functionality of</i>						
Father	7.80	6.50	3.54	3.56	2.89	.01
Mother	9.24	11.76	3.80	3.68	—5.36	.01
Parental dyad	19.79	23.33	5.25	4.74	—5.80	.01
Nuclear family	21.59	25.22	5.40	4.50	—5.95	.01
Extended family	22.25	25.91	5.43	4.50	—6.00	.01

* Values of *p* are based on a two-sided critical region.

Table II. Categories of Residence, by Sex

Residence	Males	Females	TOTAL
Rural-farm: S always lived on a farm	24	21	45
Rural nonfarm: S lives in open country to population of 24,999, not in a Standard Metropolitan Area	28	25	53
Suburban: S lives in incorporated area with population of 50,000 and over, or in unincorporated or suburban area or village in a S.M.A.	26	15	41
Urban: S lives in a city of more than 50,000 in a S.M.A. or in one over 25,000 which is not in a S.M.A.	62	55	117
Not classified	2	1	3
TOTAL	142	117	259

Table III. Mean Levels of Functionality for Rural-Farm Subjects and for All Other Subjects,† by Sex of Subject

Function- ality of	Males				Females			
	RURAL- FARM (N=24)	ALL OTHERS (N=116)	t	p<*	RURAL- FARM (N=21)	ALL OTHERS (N=95)	t	p<*
Father	8.26	7.76	.56	ns	5.64	6.66	-1.25	ns
Mother	10.50	8.94	1.84	ns	11.36	11.86	-.54	ns
Parental dyad	21.74	19.34	2.01	.01	20.99	23.78	-2.50	ns
Nuclear family	24.38	21.02	2.84	.01	23.72	25.49	-1.64	ns
Extended family	25.13	21.65	2.91	.01	24.56	26.15	-1.49	ns

* Values of p are based on one-sided critical region.

† For explanation of classification of residence see Table II above.

Table IV. Responses to "Your Interests Survey," by Sex (Items Which at Least One in Every Five Respondents Chose as Among the Five Most Important and Unimportant in the Survey)

	<i>Percentage</i>	
	MALES (N = 53)	FEMALES (N = 77)
<i>Important Items:</i>		
4. Being "socially at ease"	21	31
5. Getting along well with your parents	53	82
7. Being able to go to the college of your choice	53	58
12. Getting established in a career	43	*
13. Doing well at school	53	58
17. Being well liked by friends and associates	43	61
20. Having a job which provides you with experience for the occupation of your choice	21	*
22. Having many friends	27	*
26. Being off by yourself at times	30	45
27. Having parental approval of your goals	*	26
<i>Unimportant Items:</i>		
1. Doing well at sports activities	26	38
2. Being able to buy classical records	32	25
3. Having your own telephone	60	71
9. Being able to bring friends into home for parties	26	*
15. Having a "steady date"	49	40
16. Having a room of your own	26	*
19. Having a car of your own	36	44
21. Being able to buy "popular" records	72	68
29. Owning your own phonograph	32	49

* Denotes that the percentage was under 20.

Table V. Roles Mentioned in Response to "Influence" and "Done-Things-For" Questions, by Form Responded to and Sex of Subject

<i>Roles of Designated persons</i>	<i>Five persons who have been most influential in your life</i>				<i>Five persons who have done the most for you</i>			
	MALES		FEMALES		MALES		FEMALES	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Ss responding to Form A	18	100	18	100	18	100	18	100
Father	16	89	17	94	17	94	18	100
Mother	15	83	16	89	17	94	18	100
Brother	4	22	0	0	5	28	0	0
Sister	3	17	4	22	2	11	2	11
Spouse	1	6	0	0	1	6	0	0
Grandfather	1	6	1	6	2	11	3	17
Grandmother	1	6	1	6	1	6	7	39
Uncle	1	6	0	0	1	6	1	6
Aunt	0	0	3	17	2	11	3	17
Cousin	1	6	1	6	0	0	1	6
Teacher	16	89	10	56	10	56	9	50
Coach	5	28	1	6	3	17	0	0
Camp counselor	1	6	4	22	1	6	1	6
Scout leader	0	0	1	6	0	0	1	6
Clergyman*	1	6	4	22	9	50	2	11
Boy friend	6	33	10	56	10	56	9	50
Girl friend	9	50	11	61	1	6	9	50
Group of								
Fellows	3	17	0	0	0	0	0	0
Girls	0	0	1	6	0	0	1	6
Mixed group	0	0	2	11	0	0	1	6
Person not listed	6	33	2	11	4	22	2	11
Total responses	90	100	89	99	86	96	88	98

* The few responses of "Sunday School teacher" have been incorporated with those of "clergyman."

Table V. (continued)

Roles of Designated persons	Five persons who have been most influential in your life				Five persons who have done the most for you			
	MALES		FEMALES		MALES		FEMALES	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Ss responding to Form B	14	100	19	100	14	100	19	100
Father	11	79	14	74	13	93	18	95
Mother	13	93	17	89	14	100	18	95
Brother	1	7	3	16	1	7	4	21
Sister	1	7	2	11	2	14	1	5
Spouse	0	0	1	5	0	0	0	0
Grandfather	1	7	1	5	0	0	1	5
Grandmother	0	0	2	11	1	7	2	11
Uncle	2	14	1	5	3	21	1	5
Aunt	0	0	1	5	0	0	3	16
Cousin	0	0	2	11	0	0	2	11
Teacher	8	57	9	47	6	43	9	47
Coach	3	21	1	5	1	7	1	5
Camp counselor	1	7	0	0	2	14	1	5
Clergyman	2	14	2	11	3	21	0	0
Sunday School teacher	1	7	0	0	0	0	0	0
Boy friend	10	71	12	63	8	57	12	63
Girl friend	8	57	13	68	7	50	13	68
Group of Fellows	1	7	0	0	1	7	0	0
Girls	0	0	1	5	0	0	2	11
Mixed group	0	0	1	5	0	0	2	11
Person not listed	5	36	6	32	3	21	6	32
Total responses	68	97	89	94	65	93	96	101

Table VI. A Classification of Responses to "Influence" and "Done-Things-For" Items in "Inventory of Associations I" and Corresponding Items in "Inventory of Associations II"

I. Content of influence

A. Goals, values, ends (terms used as rough synonyms)

Table VI. (continued)

1. Kind of person to become or not to become
 - a. Morality, standards of interpersonal conduct
 - (1) Give love, show altruism, be kind, etc. (A-6; B-2)
 - (2) Be fair and honest, show integrity and objectivity (A-14; B-4)
 - b. Nonmoral elements of life style
 - (1) Extroversion-introversion (A-5, A-16; B-1, B-10)
 - (2) Creativity (A-10; B-8)
 - (3) Quality of performance (A-19; B-12)
 - (4) Activity level (A-17; B-5)
 - (5) Emotionality-nonemotionality (A-3, A-7; B-11, B-13)
 - (6) Optimism-pessimism (A-2, A-11; B-3, B-6)
 - (7) Extravagance-thrift (A-8, A-13; B-7, B-9)
 - c. Arousal of interests
 - (1) Intellectual (A-22; B-14)
 - (2) Political (A-26; B-15)
 - (3) Educational (A-24; B-16)
 - (4) Aesthetic
 - (a) Natural (A-23; B-17)
 - (b) Man-made (A-27; B-18)
 - (5) Religious (A-29; B-19)
 - (6) Humanitarian (A-25; B-20)
 - (7) Sporting, athletic (A-28; B-21)
2. Kind of position or role to choose and/or to achieve, or not to choose or achieve
 - a. Occupation (B-30)
 - b. Socioeconomic status (B-31)
 - c. Sex role (B-32)
 - d. Age role (B-33)
 - e. Good friend: same sex (B-34)
 - f. Good friend: opposite sex (B-35)
- B. Means of achieving goals, values, ends, or means to avoid
 1. Striving (A-21; B-22)
 2. Social sensitivity (A-12; B-23)
 3. Social skills, manners (A-18; B-24)
 4. Cooperation (A-1; B-25)
 5. Resourcefulness (A-15; B-26)
 6. Responsibility (A-9; B-27)
 7. Cheat, gouge, etc. (A-4; B-28)
 8. Passivity, subservience, etc. (A-20; B-29)

Table VI. (continued)

II. Means of influence

- A. Giving (contingently?)
 - 1. Love
 - 2. Warmth, support
 - 3. Recognition
 - 4. Providing resources
 - 5. Freedom
- B. Setting example
 - 1. Good
 - 2. Horrible
 - 3. Which invites surpassing
 - 4. Unbeatable
- C. Tuition
 - 1. Direct instruction
 - 2. Critical evaluation
- D. Negative methods: withholding, punishment, etc.

Table VII. Rank Order of 35 "Influence" Items from Part B of "Inventory of Associations II," by Sex of Respondents

<i>Per Cent Reporting Having Been Influenced</i>	<i>MALES (N = 32)</i>	<i>FEMALES (N = 37)</i>
80%-100%	Integrity (97) Altruism (84) Quality of performance (84) Responsibility (84) Persistent striving (81) Educational interest (81)	Altruism (92) Integrity (92) Quality of performance (92) Educational interest (92) Intellectual interest (89) Social sensitivity (89) Persistent striving (86) Social skills (86) Responsibility (84) Maturity (84) Religious interest (81) Cooperativeness (81)
60%-79%	Thrift (78) Intellectual interest (75)	Aesthetic interest (nature) (78)

Table VII. (continued)

<i>Per Cent Reporting Having Been Influenced</i>	MALES (N = 32)	FEMALES (N = 37)
	Social sensitivity (75)	Aesthetic interest (culture) (78)
	Cooperativeness (75)	Humanitarian interest (78)
	Maturity (75)	Activity level (76)
	Friendship with opposite sex (75)	Extraversion (73)
	Religious interest (72)	Thrift (73)
	Athletic interest (72)	Creativity (73)
	Social skills (72)	Political interest (73)
	Status aspiration (72)	Friendship with opposite sex (73)
	Masculine sex role (72)	Friendship with own sex (70)
	Occupational interest (69)	Feminine sex role (68)
	Friendship with own sex (66)	Optimism (68)
	Activity level (62)	Athletic interest (68)
40% -59%	Extraversion (59)	Resourcefulness (54)
	Political interest (56)	Occupational interest (54)
	Creativity (56)	Emotionality (51)
	Aesthetic interest (nature) (56)	Nonemotionality (51)
	Optimism (53)	Status aspiration (41)
	Aesthetic interest (culture) (47)	Introversion (41)
	Nonemotionality (44)	
	Humanitarian interest (44)	
	Resourcefulness (44)	
20% -39%	Give no quarter in competing (34)	Pessimism (33)
	Emotionality (31)	Extravagance (27)
	Introversion (31)	
Under 20%	Extravagance (19)	Give no quarter in competing (16)
	Pessimism (12)	Passivity (16)
	Passivity (3)	

Table VIII. Percentage Distribution of Roles Designated in Response to "Influence" Questions, by Categories of Influence and Sex of Respondents

<i>Categories of Influence</i>	<i>Sex of S</i>	<i>Father</i>	<i>Mother</i>	Σ	<i>Peer*</i>	<i>Teacher*</i>	<i>Other*</i>	Σ	<i>No Influence</i>
Morality (I-A-1-a)	M	6	63	69				15	16
	F	16	54	70				22	8
Integrity	M	37	47	84				13	3
	F	41	35	76				16	8
Life style (I-A-1-6)									
Extraversion	M	19	19	38				21	41
	F	14	30	44	25			4	27
Introversion	M	9	6	15				16	69
	F	8	11	19				22	59
Creativity	M	6	9	15		32		41	44
	F	11	16	27				46	27
Quality	M	41	22	63				21	16
	F	46	30	76				16	8
Activity	M	19	6	25				37	38
	F	46	30	76				16	8
Emotionality	M	3	3	6				25	69
	F	5	11	16	22			35	49
Nonemotionality	M	16	13	29				15	56
	F	22	16	38				13	49
Optimism	M	13	28	41				12	47
	F	22	35	57				11	32
Pessimism	M	6	0	6				6	88
	F	8	5	13				19	68
Extravagance	M	9	6	15				4	81
	F	3	11	14				13	73
Thrift	M	47	22	69				8	22
	F	35	19	54				19	27

Table VIII. (continued)

Categories of Influence	Sex of S	Father	Mother	Σ	Peer*	Teacher*	Other*	Σ	No Influence
Arousal of interests (I-A-1-c)	M	6	6	12		28		63	25
Intellectual	F	22	19	41		22		48	11
Political	M	22	3	25				31	44
	F	30	8	38				35	27
Educational	M	28	6	34		34		47	19
	F	41	27	68				24	8
Aesthetic (nature)	M	9	25	41				15	44
	F	3	38	41				37	22
Aesthetic (culture)	M	6	3	9		25		38	53
	F	11	16	27	27			51	22
Religious	M	13	28	41				31	28
	F	24	19	43				38	19
Humanitarian	M	25	9	34				10	56
	F	19	22	41				37	22
Sporting	M	25	3	28				44	28
	F	19	8	27	24			41	32
Role (I-A-2)									
Occupation	M	16	3	19		28		50	31
	F	8	11	19		21		35	46
Status aspiration	M	25	16	41				31	28
	F	22	16	38				3	59
Sex role	M	22	3	25				47	28
	F	0	30	30				38	32
Age role	M	22	13	35	29			40	25
	F	14	33	47	27			37	16
Friend: same sex	M	13	3	16	32			50	34
	F	0	16	16	32			54	30
Friend: opposite sex	M	3	6	9	59			66	25
	F	8	14	22	39			51	27

Table VIII. (continued)

Categories of Influence	Sex of S	Father Mother Σ			Peer* Teacher* Other* Σ			No In- fluence
Means (I-B)								
Striving	M	41	16	57			24	19
	F	38	30	68			18	14
Social sensitivity	M	19	41	60			15	25
	F	19	54	73			16	11
Social skills	M	9	41	50			22	28
	F	8	51	59			27	14
Cooperativeness	M	22	28	50			25	25
	F	5	49	54			27	19
Resourcefulness	M	28	0	28			16	56
	F	16	19	35			19	46
Responsibility	M	31	31	62			22	16
	F	24	49	73			11	16
No quarter	M	9	0	9			25	66
	F	5	0	5			11	84
Passivity	M	3	0	3			—	97
	F	3	8	11			5	84

* No entry is shown under "peer," "teacher," or "other" if the percentage is less than 20. "Peer" includes responses in the following categories: boy friend, girl friend, group of fellows, group of girls, and mixed group. "Teacher" includes responses in the following categories: teacher, professor, coach, camp counselor, and scout leader. "Other" includes responses in the following categories: members of the immediate (except parents) and extended family, adult friends, clergyman, and Sunday School teacher.

Table IX. Percentage Distribution of Roles Designated in Response to "Influence" Questions Concerning Social Skills: by Sex of Subject and Order of Choice

<i>Sex of Subject and Order of Choice</i>	<i>Father</i>	<i>Mother</i>	Σ	<i>Peer*</i>	<i>Teacher*</i>	<i>Other*</i>	Σ	<i>No Influence</i>
MALES (N = 32)								
Most important	9	41	50				22	28
Second most important	25	9	34				29	37
Third most important	6	6	12				32	56
Total	40	56						
FEMALES (N = 37)								
Most important	8	51	59				27	14
Second most important	22	19	41				34	25
Third most important	11	0	11	25			37	52
Total	41	70						

* See footnote to Table VIII.

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Index

- achievement motivation, 104-07
- aggression, 87, 88, 89
- aggressive identification, 5, 9, 60, 67-73 (*see also* controlling behavior)
- anaclitic depression, 63, 79
- anaclitic identification, 4-5, 9, 60 (*see also* reciprocal identification)
- anxiety, and sex role, 100
- apathy, 78
- ascribed status, 58

- Ballenger, Gladys, xiv
- boys (*see* children; sex-role identification)
- Brim, Orville G., Jr., xiv
- Bronfenbrenner, Urie, xiv

- Campbell, Donald T., xiv
- children, individual differences in, 108-09; sex differences in, 144-45, 151; sex of, and controlling behavior, 70-73, 74, 79 (*see also* sex-role identification)
- Chinese family, 43-44*n*.
- Cicourel, Aaron, 18*n*.
- Clausen, John, xiv
- conscience, development of, 88-89

- contact, physical, 62, 65, 82
- controlling behavior, 59-60, 67-73, 74-92, 95-97
- core relationships, 40-41, 51
- corporations, 43, 48

- dependency, 65-66; and punishment, 69; and role-playing, 6-7
- deprivation, maternal, 63-64; sensory, 79
- Devereux, Edward C., Jr., xiv
- discipline, 68-73, 88; and achievement behavior, 106 (*see also* punishment)

- economic functions, 41, 42, 43, 45, 50
- education function (*see* socialization-education function)
- ego-model, 1
- emotional deprivation, 63
- emotional gratification, 57
- empathy, 27, 28
- ethnic-religious groups, 105
- expressive role, 95
- extended family (*see* kinship)

- familial functions, 43-55, 134-45, 150; in pilot studies, 121-32

- familial structure, 31-55, 134; in pilot studies, 121-32
- family, nurturance and control by, 56-92; sex roles in, 94-102 (*see also* children; father; kinship; mother).
- fantasy, 15
- father, absence of, 35-36, 39, 134-36, 138-40, 151; and achievement motivation, 107; aggressive identification with, 5; controlling behavior of, 69-72, 76-77, 79-80; identification with, in pilot studies, 115-16; nurturant behavior of, 66-67, 79-80; role of, 44-45; and sex-role identification, 94-99; and social class, 33
- feeding, 67, 82 (*see also* nurturant behavior)
- femininity (*see* sex-role identification)
- Freud, Anna, 5
- Freud, Sigmund, 4-6, 9, 31, 66
- Freudian theory, 2-3, 60, 61-62, 93-94, 96-97
- function, familial (*see* familial function)
- function, social (*see* social function)
- functional analysis, 41-55, 150
- girls (*see* children; sex-role identification)
- grandparents, 34-36
- Guetzkow, Harold, xiv
- guilt, 89-90
- Hill, Winfred, xiv
- homosexuality, 6*n.*, 98
- household structure, 34
- hypothesis of identification, 38-39, 46, 53-54, 59, 90-92, 102, 140
- I*, definition of, 1, 148-49
- identification, concepts of, 1-3, 4-11, 12-29
- identifier (*see* children; *I*)
- imitation, 9, 27-28
- imprinting, 86
- instrumental role, 95
- integration, through function, 49
- internalization, 1, 5, 10, 27, 28, 87, 88-89
- introjection, 26-27, 28
- Jews (*see* ethnic-religious groups)
- Kaiser, Henry F., xiv
- kibbutz, 34, 43, 44
- kinship, 34; pilot studies on, 121-32
- Klassen, Peter, xiv
- Kohn, Melvin L., xiv
- learning, identification and, 6, 8-9, 11
- Le Vine, Robert, xiv
- love, 8*n.*, 26-28 (*see also* nurturant behavior)
- lower class, controlling behavior in, 75-76; and occupational prestige, 104 (*see also* middle class; social class; working class)
- M*, definition of, 1, 148-49
- masculinity (*see* sex-role identification)
- maturation, and nurturance, 86
- Mead, G. H., 62
- mental illness, parental behavior and, 74-76
- middle class, 51; and achievement

- motivation, 104-05, 106; child-rearing practices in, 32*n.*, 33, 34; controlling behavior in, 72-73, 75; family structure in, 57-58; and occupational prestige, 104 (*see also* social class)
- model (*see* father; *M*; mother)
- mother, absence of, 36-37, 39; and achievement motivation, 106-07; controlling behavior of, 70-73, 74; identification with, in pilot studies, 115-16; in Negro family, 35-36; nurturant behavior of, 62-66, 73-74, 77, 80; and sex-role identification, 94-99
- motivation, achievement, 104-07; in identification, 6, 9
- negative identification, 13-14
- Negro family structure, 35-36
- noncathected resource, 148-49
- norms, and positional identification, 19
- nuclear family (*see* family)
- nurturant behavior, 7, 59-67, 73-92, 95-97 (*see also* reciprocal identification)
- occupational-role identification, 102-04
- opposite identification, 12, 14; in pilot studies, 112, 113, 117
- oral gratification, 61-62
- ordinal position, in family, 37
- parents (*see* family; father; mother)
- peer relations, and sex role, 100
- permissiveness, 87
- personal identification, 15-16, 18-23, 147; in pilot studies, 111
- personality, 15-16; and family functions, 48-49; socialization and, 24-25
- physical characteristics, 108-09
- pilot studies, 110-32, 150-51
- political functions, 41, 42, 43
- positional identification, 14, 15-23, 93, 102, 147; in pilot studies, 111
- position-conferring function, 57-59
- primary identification, 4, 13
- problem-solving skill, 100
- process, definition of, 146; identification as, 13
- product, definition of, 146; identification as, 13
- productive function (*see* economic function)
- prohibition learning, 9
- psychoanalytic theory (*see* Freudian theory)
- punishment, 88, 90; control as, 59, 67-73 (*see also* reward)
- reciprocal identification, 12, 13, 14, 18, 21, 60; control and, 67-73; nurturance and, 61-67, 83-84; in pilot studies, 111-18, 140-45, 151; and sex role, 94 (*see also* primary identification)
- relationships (*see* core relationships; family; kinship)
- religious functions, 41, 42, 43, 45
- religious groups (*see* ethnic-religious groups)
- replacement function, 41, 44
- reproductive function (*see* replacement function)
- resource, 148-50; and core relationships, 51-53; pilot study of, 127-32; of societal functions, 41-42, 54

- reward, 85-86, 88, 107, 148-50; control and, 73; in learning, 8-9; nurturance and, 59; pilot studies of, 124-32 (*see also* resource)
- Riecken, Henry, xiv
- role behavior, 14, 15-17, 20, 21, 24-25, 93 (*see also* occupational-role identification; sex-role identification)
- role-playing, 6
- roles, observation of, 37-38; societal functions and, 44-46, 50
- role-taking, 27, 28

- Sewell, William H., xiv
- sex-role identification, 33*n.*, 34, 93-102, 109
- siblings, 37, 134, 136-37, 139
- similar identification, 12, 13*n.*, 14, 27, 60, 94; control and, 67-73; nurturance and, 83-84; in pilot studies, 111-18, 140-45
- skills, 47, 100
- social class, 32-34; mental illness and, 74-76, 81 (*see also* lower class; middle class; working class)
- social function, 40-45, 110, 147-50
- social isolation, 79
- social position, 16
- social structure, 31-34, 110, 147-50
- socialization, 22-25, 28, 44
- socialization-educational function, 41, 42, 43; pilot studies of, 121-32, 140
- societal function (*see* social function)
- societal structure (*see* social structure)
- spousal relations, 98-99
- S-R theory, 6-8
- stratification (*see* social class)
- Strodtbeck, Fred L., xiv
- superordinate-subordinate relationship, 51-52
- symbiosis, 25-26, 28

- task-oriented behavior, 42, 44-50
- Taves, Marvin, xiv
- toilet-training, 67-68

- weaning, 61-62
- working class, and achievement motivation, 104-05; child-rearing practices in, 32*n.*, 33; controlling behavior in, 72 (*see also* lower class)
- working mother (*see* mother, absence of)

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